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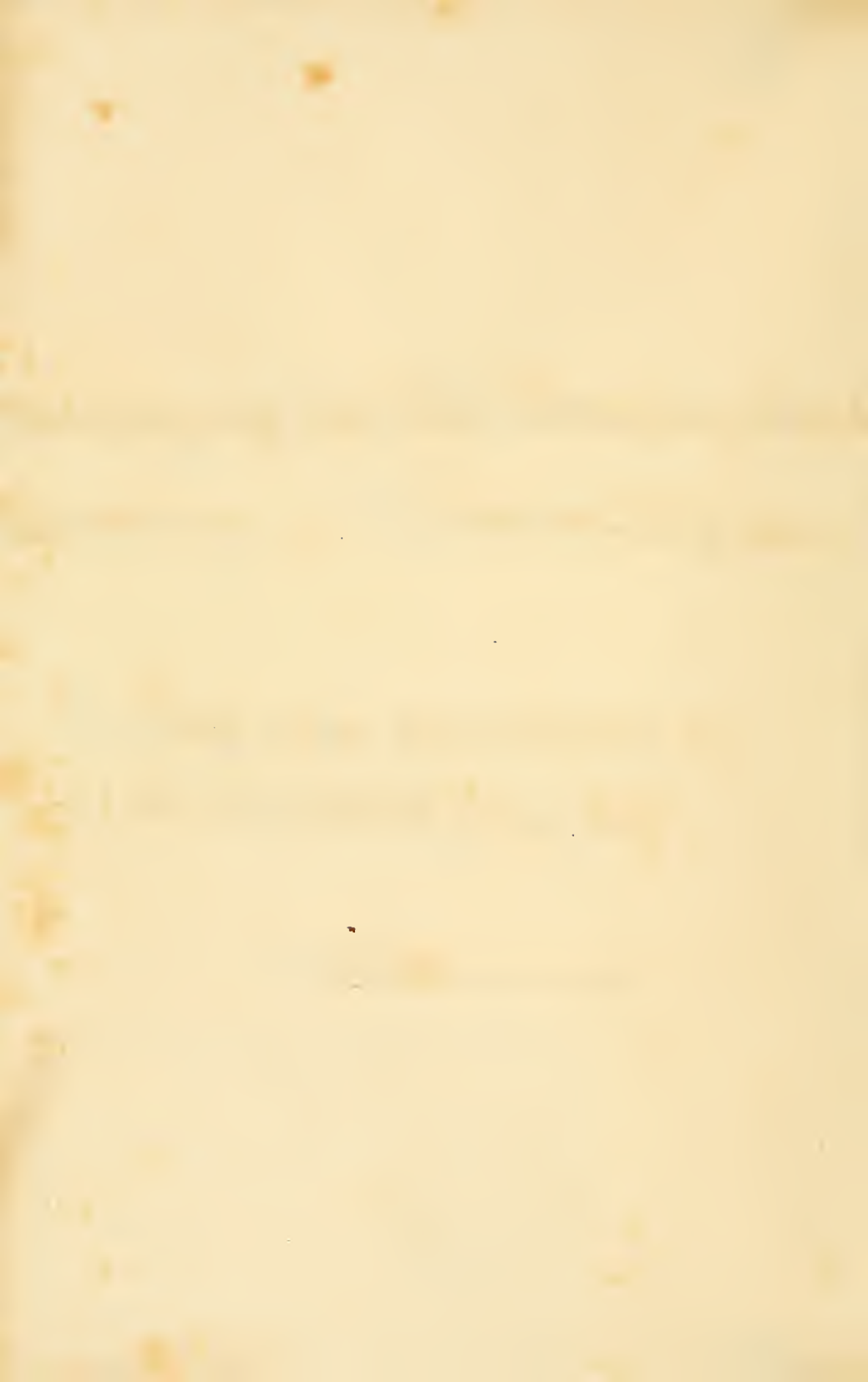
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ENTRANCE

TO THE VAULT BENEATH THE MOSK EL AKSA.

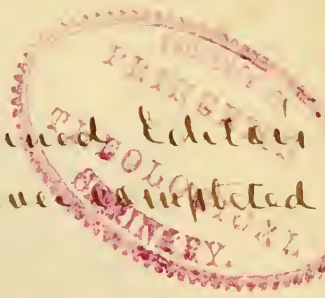
The Jewish war of
Flavius Josephus
and his Autobiography
Translated by Robert Traill
Edited by Isaac Taylor

v. 1

London 1847



In consequence of the lamented Editor's
death, this edition was never completed



ON THE
PERSONAL CHARACTER AND CREDIBILITY
OF
JOSEPHUS.

THE historic authority and trustworthiness of Josephus, and his personal reputation, have furnished a subject, at different times, for vehement and acrimonious controversies. In fact, no ancient writer can be named who has been, at once, so hotly assailed, and so fondly defended; and it has become manifest that motives, taking their rise from a reference to the ulterior consequences, real or imaginary, of the argument, while they have sharpened the animosity of these attacks, have too much influenced the mode of defence.

But all such influences, whether affecting the one side of this controversy or the other, belong to a state of opinion on historical questions which has passed away; for, at the present moment, no well-informed writer, taking the *religious* side of the argument, would think of defending the Jewish historian, or of vouching for his affirmations, in the manner which once was deemed to be incumbent upon the champions of Belief. Nor, on the other side, would any judicious assailant of his reputation risk—or indeed give himself the bootless trouble to maintain—those vague and sweeping criminations which, in preceding times, have been advanced against him. That revulsion toward the past which is so remarkable a characteristic of the present age, that eager, industrious, and intelligent curiosity in relation to the several eras of history, ancient and modern, national and universal, which distinguishes the present period, has brought with it, if not more of solid erudition, yet certainly far more of the genuine scientific temper, a far sounder and more efficient criticism, and incomparably more of intellectual independence, and of freedom from the trammels of superstition and prejudice, than could be challenged for any period whatever in the history of literature, anterior to the present century.

To these significant facts the Translator of Josephus wishes to direct the attention of the reader, now at the moment when he enters upon the task before him. It is his wish to give Josephus anew to English

literature, in the spirit of modern—he should say of *recent*, historical science; bringing to bear upon pages which in themselves are so important, every available means of elucidation, not only with due industry, but in a temper free from solitudes, from predilections, and from party impulses. There may possibly be those who would gladly detract from the merit of the Jewish historian, and even seek to annihilate his reputation, prompted by the sinister hope that, while so employed, they should undermine the Christian Evidences. Let such persons, if such there be, pursue their work! all they will effect will be to furnish some undesigned and incidental contribution, confirmatory of that evidence. On the other side, there may be good men, who would perhaps tremble when Josephus is assailed, imagining that Christianity must be put in peril, should a breach be made in this outwork. With fears of this sort the Translator has no sympathy.

In bringing, as it will be his duty to bring, various passages to the test of modern criticism, and in dealing with the affirmations of his author by the aid of palpable proofs, such as are so amply furnished by recent researches in Palestine, he hopes to perform his part with an equanimity as entire as if the writings of Josephus did not stand related, even in the most remote manner, to the documents of our faith as Christians. For, if it be true that the testimony of Josephus is indeed available in corroboration of that faith, it can be so only when it is adduced in a spirit of fearless integrity. Or, if it be not so available, those who well know on what ground they accept the Gospel as true, will see any such imagined advantage torn away from the mass of evidence, without regret or apprehension.

Until of late, religious belief was in peril chiefly from the assaults of scepticism; but it is now in peril chiefly, and to a far greater extent, from the silent encroachments of mysticism. No one who is well informed as to the state of opinion at this moment, throughout the circle of lettered Europe, will call this affirmation in question. But mysticism, whether its guise be that of devotion, or that of philosophy, is the carrying a theory—a fond surmise, over ground that has already been occupied by actual facts, or by authentic evidence. Now, when any species of theoretic mystification is attempted to be set forward within the province of science, the proper remedy is found in an application of the well-tried apparatus of the inductive logic. But when the same sort of inroad is made upon the territory of history, when, for instance, either the myth of superstition, or the myth of atheism, is obtruded upon a region which genuine history rightfully claims as its own, the method of relief proper for the occasion is furnished by a renewed diligence in bringing forward those multifarious and palpable documents to which history loves to make its appeal. It is, therefore, precisely in this view that a serious importance attaches to any inquiries touching the credibility of the Jewish historian at the present moment. For is it not a fact that the hand of Josephus carries a torch, up and down—this way and that—within doors and without, shedding a glare of historic

light, incidentally, and as by accident, upon a field, and upon objects, upon persons, and upon events, which the mystics of atheism are by all means endeavouring to shroud in gloom, so that they may find a fit place whereon to lodge their vague theory—a theory designed and intended, not, indeed, to *refute* Christianity, which cannot be done, but to smother it !

To establish, therefore—and this may beyond doubt be done—the reality of whatever constitutes the historical material of the Christian epoch, is effectively to exclude that vague scheme which can erect itself only upon spaces that are void and dark. This however is a topic to which we must for a moment revert toward the close of the present essay.

We proceed, then, to form an estimate of the personal character of Josephus, with the further intention of founding upon that estimate another, as to the degree in which he should command our confidence when he comes forward as the historian of his country's last struggles and fall. With this view we naturally look, in the first instance, to that "Life of himself" which he has put into our hands; a production, in several respects, unmatched among the literary remains of antiquity; for no other piece of autobiography has been preserved with which, altogether, this may be compared. By its individuality and minuteness of detail it seems to associate itself rather with modern, than with ancient writings—one characteristic excepted, which the reader will not fail to notice; namely, the writer's unconscious simplicity in commending himself. On this ground, however, he by no means exceeds the limits that were customarily indulged to the egotism of public men in ancient times. That refinement of feeling, and personal modesty which Christianity at first generated, and which it has diffused, imposes restraints upon the impulses of self-love, unthought of in the ancient world; nor is Josephus to be individually blamed in this behalf; or if blamed, how amply might he excuse himself by instances cited from the Orations and Epistles of Cicero !

From this piece of autobiography, considered in connexion with many passages scattered through his works, an opinion may safely be formed of the man—an opinion accordant, we must at once say, neither with the judgment passed upon him by his detractors; nor with the overwrought eulogiums of his apologists. As to specific instances of alleged falsification, the Translator is persuaded that a temperate examination of the cases will reduce these supposed proofs of prevarication, or of culpable error, within very narrow limits. It should be remembered that, as the composition and publication of his several works occupied those many years of leisure and security which Josephus passed at Rome; and as this tranquil period of learned ease afforded him sufficient opportunity for carrying forward a careful revision of whatever he had given to the public, and which he believed himself, and not fallaciously, to be consigning to the perusal of future ages, the very existence of the discrepancies now referred to, furnishes an evidence of that sort of ingenuous confidence in the *substantial correctness* of his works, which is natural, where it may properly be felt. This is certain, that Josephus did not think it necessary to employ, either himself, or his literary assistants,

of whom he had several at command, in removing from his pages these blemishes, which he would have done, had he felt that they might lead to a detection of still more capital errors. It is an admitted principle in historical criticism, that a moderate amount of oversights and discordances tends more to confirm the general credit of an historian, than it does to disparage his authority. Such flaws, incident as they are to whatever is human, exclude the supposition that any elaborate fraud has been attempted.

Besides making an equitable allowance for such involuntary hallucinations of the memory, as all men are liable to, and especially those who have spent years amid the tumultuous events of civil war and national overthrow, it should never be forgotten by the reader of history that, when a writer is mentioning circumstances wherein himself was concerned, the particular fact, a knowledge of which would at once reconcile two apparently discordant accounts, being vividly present to his own mind, although it may not be named by him, prevents his becoming himself conscious of the seeming disagreement. This connecting fact—this explanatory circumstance, being recollected, but not specified—he might peruse the two narratives without adverting to that obvious difference which so much alarms the suspicions of his readers. Every one accustomed to literary composition will be able to recall instances that might serve to illustrate this mental fact. How often do a writer's friends or his critics, point out apparent inconsistencies which would never have appeared as such to himself, even in the most scrupulous revision of his works ! The connecting link, or the reconciling fact, which has always been present in his own view, has not been offered to the eye of the reader. As to discordant statements on points of detail, such as the number of troops present in a battle ; or the number of the slain, or of prisoners ; and many similar matters, nothing surely can be more captious or inconclusive than the endeavour to bring them forward as proofs of a writer's want of veracity. Ancient history—and modern history too, abounds with such instances, and some of them altogether inexplicable : many are no doubt attributable to the corruption of manuscripts—a circumstance so frequent in numerals : many to the ambiguity of memoranda made in extreme haste ; and many, as we have already said, to the simple omission of some explanatory statement.

More serious instances of discordancy, when such occur in the works of our author, will be duly noticed in the proper places. But, if we are speaking of these cases in the mass, the Translator holds himself free to disregard them altogether, if they were supposed materially to affect the estimate that should be formed of the veracity and accuracy of the Jewish historian. Such an estimate may, with more certainty, and in a manner more accordant with philosophical views of human nature, be formed on the ground of that broad impression of himself, and of his dispositions, and temperament, and of his adopted principles of action, which Josephus has left for our inspection in his writings. This portraiture of the author—this autobiography which, by means of a general induction, we gather from

his entire works, as well as from his "Life," it seems proper to prefix to that singular composition; especially as it may serve to supersede what otherwise might be requisite to be advanced, when some special question turns upon the opinion that is entertained of our author's personal character.

—The personal character of Josephus may be regarded as an historical enigma; and it is one of somewhat difficult solution. No writer of credit has ventured to call in question his eminent ability, either as a public person, or as a writer; and if, in estimating his merit as a learned and literary man, we duly consider the disadvantages attaching to his Jewish education, and the tumultuous circumstances of his early life, we shall scarcely be able to refuse him a first place among the highly cultured minds of his own times. His personal story, moreover, even if interpreted on the severest principles, exhibits him as a leader of consummate address, and of inexhaustible resources, of much promptitude in action, and prudence in council; and who, even if he failed in his conception of the nobler qualities of human nature, understood it perfectly as it is more ordinarily exhibited on the theatre of real life; and well did he know how to avail himself of those fitful impulses which sway the multitude. To the passions, to the national prejudices, and to the sordid motives of the crowd, he appealed, on critical and sudden occasions, with confidence, and with uniform success. Amid the tempests of civil confusion and rebellion, he steered his personal course safely; and when at last he was thrown utterly helpless, as it seemed, upon the rocks, even then his singular address and presence of mind carried him forward, from a position the most desperate, into the very bosom of imperial favour, where, notwithstanding the inexorable hatred of his compatriots, and the jealousy of courtiers, he continued to repose, to his life's end. To have enjoyed and retained the favour of *one* Despot, and to fall only with his patron, is a task that has been achieved by few among the frequenters of courts; but our Josephus won for himself, and survived, the smiles of three! The tranquillity and affluence thus earned by his personal ability, his suppleness, and his excellent tact, he employed in labours which have secured for him a fame as lasting, if not as bright, as that of the greatest names, and which at present is less likely than ever to fall into oblivion.

Thus far there can scarcely be room for a question. In the Jewish historian we are presented with one who, had it been his lot to start from a position of less disadvantage, and to travel forward always upon the high course of Roman ascendancy, instead of being compelled to make a desperate leap, and to ascend the stream against the current, would probably have stood foremost among the haughty rulers of the world. But in attempting to pass on beyond this point, where all opinions, nearly, are agreed, difficulties, apparently insuperable, attend us. Character, whether intellectual or moral, is to be estimated, not in the abstract, but by the aid of some comparison, explicit or implied, with individuals of that class to which the

one in question obviously belongs. But, we must ask, to what class does Josephus belong, and with whom might we attempt to compare him? Like his nation among the nations, so he, in the midst of the great convention of illustrious men, of his own, or of other times, stands apart. Nay, and this is the very edge of our perplexity, he stands severed even from his own people! Is he a Grecian? but yet he is no Greek: he is of the Roman state; but yet he is no Roman: he is a philosopher; but he belongs to no school; and even though he be a Jew, he is not of the Jews; for by them he is repudiated with the liveliest resentment; while by himself they are treated with a calm pity, almost as if he were giving the history of a race extinct!

Philosophic candour always demands that, in forming our opinion of distinguished individuals, and especially of those who have acted a part in any *crisis* of human affairs, we should grant them a large measure of indulgence in behalf of those faults or errors which attached to their very qualification for the particular function assigned to them in the great machinery of the social system. There may have been points of harshness in the temper, or incongruities of principle, the effects of which run through the whole of the course they were destined to pursue. Let it then be granted that our Josephus is far from being such as we should wish to find him, either as a Chief of the Jewish people, as a public man and patriot; or as a Priest and a Teacher of the Mosaic and Rabbinical institutes. Nevertheless his very deficiencies, in these same respects, were what made it *possible* for him to act a part which no Jewish chief, formed on the model of the Maccabeus, could ever have sustained, and which no genuine Pharisee and Rabbi could have fulfilled;—a part too, which was in the same degree unapproachable by any gentile-born statesman, philosopher, or writer.

The very first act of Josephus' individual course furnishes a striking indication of the rule which was to prevail throughout it, and which was to make him at once the creature and the instrument of a new era. This act must be regarded as thoroughly *unnational*; even if it were not at that time unprecedented; it was european, rather than oriental: it was Hellenic, not Jewish. At the very earliest age at which Jewish usages allowed any spontaneous part to be adopted, he, as he tells us, looked around him upon the sects and factions of his times; and he seems to have done so with a philosophic supercilious independence; for, instead of surrendering himself to the control of family connexions, or of parental influence, he sets himself to explore the several modes of national opinion, and after making a full trial of each, to select his party. Choose he must among the actual factions around him; for no one could then take a part in the movements of public life, while occupying the insulated ground of philosophic indifference; and yet, in deciding to call himself a Pharisee, he manifestly reserved to himself the liberty of being such only to the extent that might be necessary to secure his objects in making the profession. A Pharisee,

indeed, was Josephus! but his Pharisaism, we may conjecture, was not much deeper than the thickness of his phylactery!

Judaism is, in its nature, dogmatic, and absolute; and although, after the splitting of the nation into sects and parties, every Jew was, in a certain sense, called upon to make his choice among the rival factions; yet, so long as he adhered to the *spirit* of the national institute, he did so, not as a philosopher; but as a proselyte:—he did so, not because such or such a scheme might be, on the whole, preferable to its rivals; but rather on the categorical assumption that *this one scheme* was Truth itself, embodied and entire! Josephus, as a Pharisee, borrowed from this, the more fanatical party, the great advantage of professing a higher intensity of purpose, as well as that of enjoying far more credit and influence among the people, than any other could boast. Nor could the negative properties of the Sadducean creed have contented a mind so excursive as his; and it was to supply himself with what his intellect, rather than his heart demanded, that he drew to himself—not indeed those vital elements of piety which animate the pages of David and the Prophets; but those jejune speculations concerning a future life with which the followers of Plato, in that age, were wont to amuse their leisure.

The unconfessed object of our author's writings seems to have been to break down, if possible, the wall of partition that had hitherto secluded the Hebrew race from the communion, and cut them off from the sympathies of mankind. Josephus had witnessed the perdition of his people as a nation, if not as a race; and, from a motive, surely not a discreditable motive, he sought to obtain for the defunct body—what else than defunct did it then appear? at least an honourable burial in the cemetery of the nations. Crushed and breathless as was the Jewish body politic, he would not see it cast forth, as if unworthy of a place in the commonwealth of the human race, and on the page of history. With this view, and even if it were mistaken, it was nevertheless praiseworthy, we find him labouring in every page to transmute the intractable Judaism into a something which Greeks and Romans—philosophers and statesmen, might in some degree comprehend, and perhaps admire. Too faintly conscious, as he appears to have been, of that which constituted the true and unalienable glory of the Hebrew family, he sedulously strives, even by the aid of feeble compromises, to win for it a praise to which it had few claims, that of being a nation of heroes and of sages!

For the achievement of such a task, could it indeed have been achieved, Josephus was qualified by the secularity of his own dispositions, by the amalgamation of his habits of thought with those of both Greeks and Romans, by the shallowness of his belief, as a Jew, and by his consequent freedom from the trammels of any one doctrine properly dogmatic, or peremptory. It is true that, on frequent occasions, he expresses his reliance upon the divine aid, as well as his belief in a special providence; nor ought we to doubt, altogether, the sincerity of such professions;

and yet, on this ground, he takes a position not far in advance, theologically, of that occupied by several pagan writers of the same period. If, in respect of religious belief, a comparison were instituted between Josephus and his learned and estimable contemporary, Plutarch, it is not certain that it would turn greatly to the advantage of the one whose means of "coming to the knowledge of the truth," had immensely surpassed those enjoyed by the other. The Bœotian moralist—if indeed he can fairly be classed among polytheists, merely because his lot was cast among the temples, the statues, the altars, and the worship, of gods and goddesses—yet leaned, both in sentiment and principle, as far toward the side of Great Truths as his position allowed him to do; and it were an injustice to confound such a man, either with the atheistic Lucretius, or with the sensuous Epicurus, or with the sarcastic Lucian, to whom all truth was a fable; or with the cold sophists of the Porch. Plutarch, as he stood related to the system under which he lived, and to the modes of thinking by which he had ever been surrounded, was a *religious man*. But our Josephus, when thus considered—relatively to the tone and principles of the community in the bosom of which he had been nurtured, cannot be so designated, except in the lowest sense. The absolute religious difference between the two men might perhaps scarcely have been appreciable: or it might have seemed that the two were moving on the same level of theosophic belief and feeling; but in fact, the one had reached that same level by climbing an arduous path from beneath; the other, by an easy descent from a loftier region. Plutarch had freed himself from false dogmas, by the meditation of abstract truth: Josephus had almost relinquished his hold of dogmatic truth, adopting in its stead, a system of vague abstractions:—the two minds, if meeting at the same centre, were proceeding in opposite directions.

Besides, while Plutarch appears before us in the natural guise of a philosopher, conversant indeed with the world, but not deeply implicated in its errors, Josephus stands forward as a man of the world, well enough acquainted with philosophy, and with the conventional phrases of lofty principle, to bring his personal conduct within the jurisdiction of a higher tribunal than that of secular morality. The one had no motive whatever for seeming to be less religious than in reality he was; the other would by no means wish to stand condemned by his Gentile reader, as if infected with the seriousness and fanaticism of his nation. Far more careful not to offend, than anxious to convert his polite polytheistic readers, he avows just so much religious truth as might be smoothly conveyed in the then customary language of learned discourse.

A broad intention, not unworthy, and a principle, if not lofty, yet not base, may, nevertheless, be assigned to the Jewish writer. He was a Jew so far as not to deny the verities that had been consigned to the custody of his nation; and yet, we must think it, he was profoundly affected by none of them. He was not an apostate from Judaism; for he made himself spontaneously its apologist; and, unless we allow him the praise of sincerity, it

will be impossible to discover any motive which should have impelled him to spend the latter years of his life in the irksome toil of exhibiting Judaism to Gentilism, in fair colours ; for this, in fact, is the one reason, and the end of his voluminous writings! In looking toward the overthrown greatness of his country—and he did so mournfully, he would fain have shed upon its desolations a last beam of glory. His error—an error, but not a crime, was, that he laboured to concentrate upon those ruins the light of this world—the fitful beams of secular renown ; instead of admitting the steady radiance of that fiery pillar which Heaven itself had made so long to rest over the only spot on earth where God was wont to speak with man.

It would, however, be an injustice to our author not here to make a reference to those instances, and they are more than a very few, in which he expresses ingenuously, if not warmly, his religious opinions—careful always to grant to his reader ample room for entertaining looser notions. Of such instances it may be enough to cite one example: “Those,” writes our author, “who peruse the prophecies of Daniel, and consider the events, while they wonder at the honour he received from God, discover from those occurrences the error of the Epicureans, who discard a Providence from human life, and deem not that God regulates its concerns, or that all things are governed by a blessed and immortal Being for the general preservation ; asserting that, bereft of guide and guardian, the world is borne along spontaneously : which, were it in this manner without a leader, would—as we see ships, destitute of pilots, foundering beneath the winds ; or chariots, having no conductors, overturned—be dashed to pieces through this blind fortuitous motion, and utterly destroyed. Accordingly, as regards the events foretold by Daniel, those seem to me widely to err from the truth who declare that God exercises no providential superintendence over human affairs : for, were it the case that the world is led on by some spontaneous impulse, we should not see every thing taking place according to that prophet’s prediction. For me, indeed, as I have found and read touching these particulars, so have I written ; but should any one be disposed to think otherwise concerning them, he may hold, unquestioned, the opposite opinion.”—*ANTIQUITIES*, x. xi.

Our Josephus must also, we think, be allowed the praise of having discerned, more or less distinctly, the great principle of religious toleration, to which indeed he himself adhered, when urged to adopt a contrary line of conduct by the fanatical rancour of his countrymen. “Every one,” says he, “should be permitted to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.” Now, in professing among his countrymen, and in *recording* in his works, an opinion such as this, Josephus cannot be suspected of aiming to win the praise of his philosophic *Gentile* readers, by a show of liberality which *they* were likely to admire ; for in fact ancient philosophy knew of no such liberality ; nor was at all conscious of intolerance, as an evil. Philosophers, externally conforming to the rites of their country, without scruple or repugnance, encountered no rebuke from others, while themselves

following the wildest speculations in theology or morals. Nor did they imagine that, to the mass of mankind, liberty of worship and belief, or the permission to worship God otherwise than the state prescribed, could ever seem a privilege to be desired; much less contended for, at the risk of life itself.

But the Jews, under the tyranny of their ferocious oppressors, the Syrian princes, had learned, beneath the severest discipline, to think of liberty of worship as a right, or as a good, more important than life itself. They, indeed—and Christians became their pupils and their successors in this respect, were the only people on earth in whose view religious truth was seriously important; the Jews were the only people who had “a conscience toward God;” inasmuch as they alone knew the one living and true God, the Father of spirits, and Ruler of the moral system. To the nations around, religion was either a local belief and a usage; or a vague speculation:—it was either superstition, or it was intellectualism. Religion belonged to men; not to man. But with the Jew, individually, it was a personal concernment; and sacred truth was a sacred trust, which he could neither compromise, nor betray. It is this very feeling which gives depth and animation to virtue: destitute of it, not only a man can never suffer as a martyr; but neither is he prepared to respect the religious convictions of others; or even to comprehend the strange phenomenon of death or torture endured purely for the truth’s sake. More than a few of the Roman magistrates, in the times of persecution, were men of humane temper, and they anxiously sought for evasions which might relieve them from the sad necessity of executing the imperial edicts. Yet it does not appear that any one of them discerned, even dimly, that first principle of virtue which brings *truth* into contact with the *conscience*; or understood the folly and enormity of the endeavour to vanquish the souls of men by torments.

Josephus, although not himself the man to suffer for religion, had learned, and certainly he had not learned it in the perusal of Grecian literature, to recognise the constancy of faith as highly virtuous and reasonable; and therefore he felt it to be right to use his endeavours to screen others from the too severe trial of their principles. Inasmuch as he was far less fervent (as well as less fanatical) than the generality of his countrymen, he the more calmly considered, and put in practice, the axiom, That the duty of adhering to religious truth, implies, correlatively, the duty of allowing other men to do so, unharmed. He had gathered this just inference from the story of the Maccabæan struggle; it had become with him a principle of action; and he deserves praise, both as having attained this truth seventeen hundred years earlier than the period of its general recognition; and as having clearly professed, and boldly maintained it.

So far as the Personal Narrative now before us furnishes the means of judging equitably the public conduct of Josephus, it will lead us to conclude that, if he cannot be allowed to take rank among great men, or self-renouncing patriots, he is yet entitled to the praise of having employed himself

with energy, as well as with ability, in the endeavour to govern a popular movement which he could not stem ; and, if so much had been possible, to bring his infatuated countrymen into a position whence they might have effected some compromise with the overwhelming power of Rome, and so have evaded an unconditional and hopeless subjugation. An impulse of public spirit, and be it, of ambition, had prompted him early to attempt the release of some of his countrymen, then prisoners at Rome. Successful in this first essay of diplomacy, he returned to Jerusalem, entitled to the gratitude and confidence of the people and their rulers ; and therefore already occupying an advantageous position in relation to public interests. But at this very moment a deep agitation, that had been long pent-up, was reaching the surface, which everywhere heaved, and threatened national ruin. With either the moral impulses, or the religious sentiment of this agitation, Josephus seems to have had little sympathy. He coolly regarded the threatened insurrection on grounds of political and military calculation. Such was the habit of his mind ; and his works demonstrate that, in a degree extremely rare among his countrymen, perhaps among any of the conquered nations, he was competent to estimate the comparative omnipotence of Rome—to measure, with the grasp of a statesman, the forces of the empire—to discern the reasons, causes, and consistency of its power ; and to forecast the consequence of resistance, if attempted by a people so inconsiderable as the Jews. The whole tenor of his narrative, and the history of the war, demonstrates that, from the first moment, he clearly anticipated the event of the frantic effort of his nation to shake off the yoke of Rome. He well knew that, whatever momentary successes might attend the early outburst of popular feeling ; or even although entire legions might share the fate of Cestius and his army, the noise of such a disaster, ringing through the world, would only serve as a trumpet-call, bringing upon the devoted province a delayed, but a tenfold desolation.

Entertaining these views, and it is certain that he did so, several courses were before him : not indeed that of mastering the fiery spirits of the agitators—call them patriots, or call them fanatics, who promoted the revolt ; for, whatever might be his talents, he wanted the qualification for a task so difficult as this ; he wanted depth of soul, he wanted a genuine sympathy with the national sentiment. But he might, especially with the advantage of the favour he had already won in the palace of Nero, have seized so fine an occasion for recommending himself at Rome, by offering his valuable services in the work of circumventing and betraying his deluded countrymen. This part, and let us not forget it, Josephus did not take ; and his not having taken it, under all the circumstances, fairly entitles him to the reputation of an honest man ; even if not to that of a devoted patriot ; and it should be held as furnishing a sufficient reply to the grievous charges brought against him by some modern writers. Josephus, although not a man of exalted virtue, was not a traitor.

Had he indeed been less restrained than he was by cool prudence, he

might have tried the experiment of a revolt, at this moment, when so dark a cloud rested upon the affairs of the empire—a cloud which chilled the soul of its master—ἐκπληξίς ἐμίπτει καὶ δέος. For who could divine what might be the consequences, or the extent of such a rising in the heart of the then impatient East? But the difficult path actually chosen by Josephus took its course between left-hand and right-hand ways. He would not betray his country, even though it were to save it: nor could he dare its rescue at the utmost risk. He hoped, however, that, by acquiring power, and by bringing some portion of the forces of the country under his personal and independent control, and by establishing, in Galilee, at a distance from Jerusalem, a power competent to check or overawe that violence of which the Holy City was the focus, he might, at least, win delay; and perhaps even acquire the means of compromising rebellion.

This we believe to be the true explication of the public course pursued by Josephus. The very nature of the case forbad the success of his endeavours; and being unsuccessful, he was irresistibly driven forward, far beyond the point to which he would freely have advanced. He headed revolt against Rome only when pushed onwards by the force he had hoped to manage; and at last, falling helpless into the terrible grasp of the masters of the world, he would have been crushed, had not his singular address and presence of mind opened a way of escape. Having in the end rescued his personal welfare and fortunes, he appears still to have used such influence as remained to him—and it must have been then very little, in the attempt to convince his countrymen of the madness of their resistance, and to dispel the illusions which hid from their eyes the approaching calamities they so soon actually endured.

The tone and tenor of the writings of Josephus, from the first page to the last, are in harmony with such an explication of his personal and public character and conduct. Although these writings be not Jewish, in an absolute sense; yet neither are they those of a renegade, or an apostate. Everywhere they bespeak the temper and views of a man, not pure in principle, but not sordid: not indeed powerfully conscious of serious truth; and yet sincerely holding his belief, so far as positive belief could root itself in a mind like his. Not the Maccabæus, or the martyr; and yet willing and ready to take in hand whatever might safely be attempted, with the hope of serving and saving his country, and of recommending its institutions to the good opinion of mankind; or at least desiring to screen his people from the contempt and hatred which met them, as a scourge, in every city of the empire.

This praiseworthy endeavour may very fairly be assigned as the main intention of the “Antiquities,” and of the learned and able Books “against Apion.” Throughout the Roman world, the Jew had not merely become the object of distrust and aversion; but he was altogether *misunderstood*. The just titles of this people to the respect of mankind were not admitted or apprehended, even by the best informed persons; and instead

of the unquestionable historic documents, by means of which this race could trace its history, far up beyond that belt of fables which separated other nations from the early times of their corporate existence, instead of the high truths embodied in this genuine history, the most absurd suppositions, as to their origin, had been blindly accepted, and were carelessly repeated, even by the most candid and learned of the gentile writers ; while the grossest slanders, as to their worship and customs, were on the lips of the vulgar. Distinguished as they were from the mass of men in almost every possible respect, so in this, that the very name—Jew, had come to stand as the symbol of the most inequitable judgment which the consent of mankind has ever, or at that time had ever, sanctioned.

Josephus, at once by his extensive acquaintance with the world, and by his ample knowledge of Grecian history and literature, had become qualified to feel, and to feel in its utmost force, the extreme injustice of that sentence of contempt and hatred under which his nation writhed. If they—the mass of them, inly burned with a sullen resentment of so much injury—an injury which they exaggerated, in one sense, and underrated in another ; he, far better informed, measured the length and breadth of the wrong ; and he perceived moreover the means of repelling it by positive evidence. Like an accomplished advocate, therefore, he gathered up his documents, disposed them in the best order, and addressed himself to the worthy task of pleading the cause of the injured Jew, at the bar of the world.

The writings of Josephus, taken as a whole, are not intelligible, nor is the general purport of them rationally explicable, on any supposition materially differing, we think, from the one we here advance. But if this supposition be, in the main, correct, then the eager endeavour which has been made, and so often renewed, to throw discredit upon them, as if the author had been the enemy of his people, and their slanderer, can by no means be allowed : it must be reprobated as unjust ; and yet it is not more unjust than absurd.

By the events of the war, Josephus had been, for a time, disjoined from his stock ; but if, in resentment, he had entertained the feelings, and had harboured the vindictive designs of an enemy—of a public accuser, of a traitor, his writings must have borne altogether another character ; and, whatever ability they might have displayed, they would have been such as to ensure a well merited oblivion for themselves, and him, within a century. Traitorous calumnies embrace—it is well that they do so—far too much of the elements of putrefaction to allow of their long continuance. Genius may indeed perpetuate absurd fables ; but even genius cannot immortalize malignant falsehoods.

Had Josephus written with the purpose of avenging himself upon his nation, would he, we boldly ask, have troubled himself to compose the “Antiquities,” or the Books “against Apion ;” or “the Jewish War” itself ? The supposition is palpably absurd ; nor can it be entertained except under the influence of the most determined prejudices. As well affirm

that the intention of Livy was to hold up the Roman Commonwealth to the contempt of posterity ! It is altogether another question whether our author adopted the best, and indeed the only effectual line of defence for his nation. In the choice of the course he pursued, it must be granted, that he yielded to motives that were more secular than religious ; that is to say, to such motives as were obvious to a cultured and politic man of the world. Nevertheless, and right or wrong in his mode of doing so, he did stand forward as the advocate of Judaism and of the Jew ; and he undertook this championship, moreover, under circumstances strongly tempting him to act another part ; or at least to forget his country, and his people, and to merge himself in gentilism. The actual presence of these motives—which he repelled ; irrefragably demonstrates the existence in his bosom of a positive, if not of an exalted regard to truth, and of a genuine, although not of a purely virtuous patriotism. We therefore dismiss, as wholly incompatible with the broad facts of the case, those imputations which would arraign Josephus, and impugn his testimony as if he had been the traitor, the apostate, the calumniator ; and a liar “ by necessity of his position.”* Such imputations, glaringly inconsistent as they are with the tenor of his other writings, receive no solid support from the terms or style of the History of the Jewish War.

The *exterior* circumstances of that desperate struggle with the military omnipotence of the empire, as these are reported by other contemporary writers, and attested by existing monuments, oblige us to suppose the existence, at that time, among the Jewish people, of an infatuation which must have reached the borders of insanity. Josephus affirms this necessary fact ; nor does his narrative imply more than this. In all his allusions to the conduct of the Jews, during the insurrection, he adheres to the very same allegation of a frenzy, impelling them onward in a course of conduct which could issue only in their utter ruin. To some indeed of the first movers of revolt he attributes the worst motives of personal ambition ; nor is such an imputation in itself improbable. Every history of insurrectionary or civil war exhibits facts of this complexion, and shows the mischievous operation of such motives in aggravating the deep and well-founded resentments of an oppressed people. That there were men of this stamp among the Jews, at such a season, is to be assumed as certain.

As to the appalling enormities and horrors related by Josephus in his narrative of the siege, it is futile to object that he could not have become informed of them ; for unquestionably, and so it appears from the History, and the Life, he subsequently held intercourse with many of the captive survivors ; and must have heard the same details from different lips. Or, if we were to consider merely the intrinsic probability of these dark incidents, they do not at all surpass what must be imagined as the inevitable consequences of the circumstances of the besieged multitude.

* De l'Autorité Historique de Flavius-Josèphe. Par Philarète Chasles. A recent pamphlet, indicating some ability, with an extreme degree of ill feeling, prompted, one would think, by some unconfessed motive.

What were the facts? A vast assemblage of persons, who had flocked wildly from remote quarters, and were impelled by opposite motives and interests—some in quest of sordid advantages, or eager for spoil—more than a few long trained to subsist by rapine and violence; and the mass, amounting to many thousands, having their imaginations heated by an instant expectation of some interposition of divine power, for the deliverance of the city and temple of God. Moreover, the city, at the time when it was invested by the Romans, contained within its narrow limits the chiefs and armed partizans of several political factions, burning with the most rancorous hatred, one of the other! This dense mass of angry elements was pent-up, week after week, while famine maddened even the most passive natures. No story of horrors can be regarded as improbable, in such a case; and those which Josephus actually adduces, frightful as they are, fall within the well-known limits of what human nature may do and suffer, when fiercely incited by passion, and when tortured by desperate privations. He has erred, we grant, in some of the particulars he mentions, and he may, it is probable, have been misled by some of his informants; but his history of the siege of Jerusalem, as it is one of the most intensely-affecting narratives of national woe which has come down from remote ages, so is it recommended to our convictions as true, by its verisimilitude, by its internal coherence, and by its sad consistency with the darker ingredients of human nature.

But it has been affirmed, and recently with renewed eagerness, that Josephus, incited by corrupt motives, has composed a history intended only, and at the cost of his countrymen, to flatter his patrons, the Roman emperors, and people. That he speaks favourably of the princes by whom he had been protected—especially of Vespasian and Titus, is certain; nor was it a crime to do so; and yet in these commendations he does not go beyond other writers of the same period. He mentions the imperial persons respectfully and gratefully; but with no lengthened or elaborate eulogiums. Bring together every passage in which our author names his imperial friends, and then compare this mass with the Panegyric of Trajan, by Pliny the younger! Had the alleged intention to flatter his masters really occupied a prominent place in the mind of the Jewish historian, it is certain that it must have made itself apparent in some more conspicuous manner, and in instances more frequent.

As to any deliberate intention of winning favour with the Roman people by systematic falsehoods, gratifying to their vanity, an egregious misapprehension of the facts is involved in any such allegation; and it is strange that men of learning should ever have advanced it. For in the first place, as to the *fact* of such flattery, we ask that the instances may be cited. Josephus speaks—and he speaks with admirable discrimination, of the Roman military tactics, of the vast resources of the empire, and of those principles of polity which everywhere secured the successes of the Roman arms. But in handling these subjects his manner does not differ in any remarkable degree,

from that which was customary with the writers with whom he may properly be compared. Collate Josephus with Polybius, with Dion Cassius, with Ammianus Marcellinus, with Plutarch, with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with Procopius (not to include the *Roman* historians, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius) and we affirm, that it will not be found possible to sustain such an imputation by any distinct or conclusive evidence. The style of Josephus is not to be distinguished, in this respect, from that of others who narrate the progress and triumphs of the Roman greatness, during the same period.

But this charge involves still greater misapprehensions of historic truth. The empire, at this epoch, had long ceased to be a compact republic, governed from within the city walls, and warmed by the throbs of one heart, and susceptible of instantaneous emotions, and capable of individual acts. Beneath the sway of the emperors it had become a vast aggregate of parts, utterly incongruous, and not very closely cemented. Although still irresistible at any given point toward which its concentrated forces should be directed, the empire was but feebly pervaded—if pervaded at all, by any one sentiment, or by any sense of a community of interests. The provinces looked with dread toward Rome; or rather toward the flitting camp of the Master of the Roman legions for the time present: but did they fondly regard Rome as their metropolis, or Italy as their mother country? It was far otherwise. No feeling similar to that which had formerly connected the Greek colonies with Greece, existed as a bond of union between Rome and the conquered countries.

And as to Rome itself, in the age of which we are speaking, it was then neither the head, nor the heart of the empire; but rather the great focus of all antipathies, the forced combination of wills and interests essentially opposed. Or, if we might advance a step further on authority so unimpeachable as that of Tacitus, we should be justified in designating Rome as the common sink of the empire—a receptacle of whatever was most offensive in all the world: the imperial city was the place—*quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluent, celebranturque*. Where was then this Rome, or this Roman people, that was to be flattered? Not in Rome itself;—the concourse of the world's anomalies and discords. Not in the provinces, throughout which a sullen hatred of her rule was cherished.

A writer might reside at Rome; but what did this imply, if he understood and employed the Greek language—the language of the *conquered* civilized world? This was not the language of any who might be imagined still to harbour some emotions of the ancient patriotism; or of those whose bosoms might yet heave, and whose cheeks might burn, at the sound of the hero-names—Coriolanus, Scipio, Cato, Brutus! Nineteen out of twenty, or probably a much larger proportion of the contemporary readers of “the Jewish War” were conscious of no pleasurable emotions whatever, connected with the triumphs of Rome; but the contrary, and the multitude of all classes would, no doubt, have relished the instances of its disgraces, much rather than have prided themselves in its glories!

Those must totally misapprehend the facts and circumstances of the time, who imagine that a voluminous and elaborate national history, composed in the Greek language, would have been a proper or probable medium through which to offer adulation to the Roman people. Such a work, when it distilled slowly from the pens of the copyists in the author's employ, would make its way into the libraries of the opulent, in the principal cities of the eastern empire chiefly. In those dim repositories it would be read, and consulted, by the learned ; and these persons, with extremely few exceptions, were men utterly destitute of any feelings of which the Roman greatness was the key-note.

When certain writers have brought against Josephus the charge of having compiled his history for the purpose of flattering the Roman people, the idea in their minds—how complete an illusion ! must have been that of a Livy addressing a compact republic in their vernacular tongue ; or of a Thucydides, or Herodotus, thinking of the States assembled at the Olympic games, and eagerly listening to him as he read ! With this mistaken idea they must have blended that of a modern popular writer, whose pages, gratifying to the national vanity, pervade, in three days or a month, the entire surface over which the language he uses is spoken, and come immediately in contact with the mass of the people. But the position of our Josephus, as the historian of his country's overthrow, was as unlike that of the Fathers of history, as it was that of a modern political pamphleteer !

Nothing could be more idle than our present labours, if there were not abundant reason for regarding the evidence of Josephus, on the whole, as valid, and, in most of its details, as unquestionable. Thus regarded, these writings, as they are altogether unique among the remains of antiquity, and seem by themselves to bridge over the gulph, separating profane from sacred literature, so are they justly referred to by Christians, as among the most important of those remains. And here the author's qualifications for the task of recording the judicial and predicted overthrow of the Jewish polity it may be well to notice. Let it be remembered then that none but a Jew could, with an authentic understanding of the facts, have narrated the circumstances of that overthrow, and of the desolation of the country. A Tacitus could not have told this story in its genuine terms :—the supercilious Roman ignorance of the notions and usages of this despised people, would have allowed him to see only the mere outline of the war. The triumph of the Roman arms, he would indeed well have understood ; but not at all the secret of the resistance which so long held the forces of the empire at bay. And how few *Jews* of that age, or of any other age, were there, accomplished, as was Josephus, for composing a history which should live and attain a high place in the circle of Grecian literature ! The writer needed for such a task, must indeed be a Jew, and a man of accomplishments, and intelligence ; but had he also shone, personally, with the brighter recommendations of true greatness, and of a high moral tone, then the very fact that he had been conversant with Christianity, and had

conversed, as no doubt he did, with its first preachers, and yet had resisted its claims, would have tended to perplex our best convictions. And yet, on the other hand, had Josephus actually become a convert to the Gospel, then his history, although assuredly not in itself deteriorated by such a change, would have forfeited what now constitutes its especial value, as conveying the evidence of an indifferent and an independent witness. As it is, and if we have conceived aright of his personal dispositions, and of the quality of his moral principles, his indifference toward Christianity, which he neither assails nor calumniates, like a "chief priest and a pharisee;" nor yet embraces, is precisely what we should expect. He had seen too much of life, and was too much loosened from national sentiments, to allow him to act the zealot; moreover, he was far too much the cautious man of the world to profess himself a disciple of Christ, or to take his lot with the "little flock" who were just then becoming the objects of deep jealousy to the Roman authorities. Again: as Josephus was neither a convert, nor a persecutor, of the new religion; so, as to Judaism, if he was but faintly affected towards its interior principles, he stood still further removed from the position of an apostate. Had he been such, his history could never have reached us.

If we entertain an opinion of the personal character and dispositions of Josephus such as this, and if the estimate we form of the historic value of his writings be in harmony with that opinion, we shall see reason for attaching no very high importance to the question—once so hotly agitated, concerning the genuineness of the noted passage in which the ministry and miracles of Christ are explicitly mentioned. Volumes have been given to the world by those who have engaged in the critical scrutiny of these few sentences! In its proper place, we shall advert, in a very summary manner, to that obsolete controversy; at present, we glance at it only, for a moment, and in so far as it stands connected with the opinion we entertain of Josephus himself.

Assuming this opinion to be in the main correct, let us first suppose the Passage usually designated as "the Testimony" (ANTIQUITIES, XVIII. iii. 3) to be genuine; as it might perhaps be thought, were we to regard it simply as it stands, on the page where it occurs. Thus nakedly considered, it adds absolutely nothing to the confidence of our belief as Christians. Do we, in any sense, need this dozen lines, to assure us of the facts which it so meagrely affirms? If the *Christian* documents did not exist, or were not, as they are, irrefragably certain, the several *heathen* testimonies to the same effect, and which are liable to no suspicion, historical or critical, comprise, in substance, all that is contained in this boasted "Testimony." But in truth, those who would be disposed to look to this passage with any degree of solicitude, must themselves very feebly have apprehended the historical certainty of the direct *Christian* evidence, bearing upon the facts of our Lord's life and ministry.

The passage, could we think it genuine, might be granted as what a man like

Josephus would say, in briefly adverting to the origin, and to the Author of Christianity; for he did not, as we have seen, partake with his countrymen in that deep-seated national sentiment, which would have induced him to become the persecutor of the Christians. On the contrary, his *eclectic* habits of thinking, would lead him to listen, with a cold, curious acquiescence, to such reports as might reach him of the teaching and miracles of Jesus. Far less serious in disposition than was Nicodemus, he might possibly have joined in the profession—"Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God," without thinking himself thereby obliged to connect himself with the new sect; or in any way called upon to act otherwise than he was wont to do. Nothing seems abstractedly improbable, or out of harmony, in this supposition, if our opinion of Josephus himself be correct. Whatever was peremptory, or *dogmatically true*, in his own religion, had lost its hold of his mind; nor would he readily have yielded himself to any new authority which should ask to lay a hand of power upon his conscience and conduct, and which might, if once admitted, demand costly sacrifices. Nevertheless, he might not scruple to go the length of such a recognition of the Divine Teacher as is contained in this passage: it could draw upon him no fresh animosity from the Jews; nor was it obtrusive enough to alarm his gentile readers; scarcely would it fix their attention for a moment, by its transient and ambiguous affirmations.

But let us now assume, what is altogether the more probable, if not the inevitable supposition; namely, that this passage is an interpolation; and that, therefore, Josephus, although he undoubtedly mentions John the Baptist, abstains from inserting, in his history of Jewish affairs, any notice of events so remarkable as were those from which Christianity took its rise, and of which he could not be altogether ignorant. Not only was he informed on these subjects; he was far too well informed of what the Christians had already, and recently, suffered, "from their own countrymen," and from the gentile authorities, not to be on his guard against the imprudence of giving any testimony in their favour which might implicate himself in their misfortunes.

The terrible fate of the Christians slaughtered by Nero, who, many of them, no doubt, were Jewish converts, and which had happened near to the time of his early visit to Rome, would be sufficiently fresh in his recollection. At the date of his later sojourn there, and while employed in composing his works, the new doctrine had made its way into the house of Cæsar, and had excited the vivid jealousy and alarms of the very class of persons with whom he associated. He himself, not improbably, had been interrogated on a subject so imperfectly understood at court; and perhaps even the dangerous question had, once and again, been put to him—"Art not thou also one of them?" Under no such suspicions, if we do him no injustice in our estimate of his moral temperament, would Josephus choose to rest. If, therefore, our conclusion should be, that he has, in the course of a narrative which is political and military in its complexion, evaded all direct reference to

Christ and his ministers, or to their noiseless successes in proclaiming the Gospel, we cannot consider this circumstance as at all inexplicable, or as burdened with difficulty. On the contrary, it is, of the two suppositions, the one which appears the most probable.

On the whole then, were we left to form an opinion of the credibility of Josephus, on the sole ground of the estimate we make of his personal character, and of the apparent intention of his writings, we should first, and without hesitation, reject, as manifestly false and absurd, those severe allegations which assume him to have been the enemy of his people—a traitor to his country—secretly rejoicing in her fall, and labouring, by his writings, to enhance those prejudices of which the Jews were then every where, as since, the object and victims. Every such inculpation is contradicted by the tenor and purport of his works, as well as in a more specific manner, by many passages breathing a feeling the very contrary to that so inconsiderately imputed to him.

And again, and on the grounds above stated, we must hold him clear of the charge of a sinister purpose to flatter the arrogance of Rome, or to minister to the pride of Roman personages. The evidence to this effect, if such there be, is too scanty and defective to sustain the allegation; and especially when the actual circumstances of the times are considered.

But, then, on the other hand, if it were attempted to make good, on behalf of our author, a claim to implicit reliance upon his simple testimony—such a reliance as is placed upon the unsustained evidence of writers whose integrity has never been called in question, and whose personal honour is free from tarnish, we must plainly declare our disinclination to yield this sort of deference to Josephus. Taking himself as our guide and authority, we are compelled to deny him the respect which attaches to high principles of conduct, to lofty moral courage, to the temper and the determination which may prompt self-sacrifice, and a generous devotion to the welfare of a party, a class, a people. The virtue of Josephus was of a more vulgar stamp; his integrity was the integrity of calculation, of discretion, and of intelligence.

If, therefore, no resource were left us but that of estimating the evidence of this writer on the ground of the opinion we form of his personal merits, or veracity, we should admit it to be in the main correct; those instances excepted in which the presence of sinister motives may fairly be suspected. But in truth we are not thus left to grope our way, as in the dark, while following the guidance of the Jewish historian. It is far otherwise; for, as to the “Antiquities,” we have in our hands, for the most part, the very sources whence he drew the materials of this portion of his writings, and the modern reader is competent, almost at every turn, to collate his narrations with what is far more authentic. Nearly the same is true of the earlier portions of the Jewish War; in fact, it is almost solely in relation to the events immediately connected with the siege and overthrow of the Holy City that we are thrown upon the veracity of the historian. Nor even within

these narrowed limits are we in a helpless position. For, not only as to the historical summary which occupies the first and second books of the War, but as to the outline of subsequent events, up to the final overthrow of the Jewish polity, all the leading facts are distinctly vouched for by contemporary writers, or by those of the succeeding time, whose testimony is regarded as unquestionable; especially by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion Cassius. Nor, again, within the narrowest limit—that is to say, the ground whereon Josephus is the only extant narrator of events—are we compelled to rest upon his bare affirmations; for, even within this restricted circle, means are available by aid of which the conclusive test of palpable facts may be applied to many points of this testimony, and so its general value ascertained. Little did this astute Jew, while compiling his narrative in learned leisure at Rome, forecast that course of events which, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, enables us to bring the accuracy of his statements into question on a multitude of incidental points, cursorily adverted to by him, while thinking mainly of the principal acts of the war! Yet so it is, that, on occasions which are perpetually occurring, we are now competent to ask, anew—‘Was Josephus actually familiar, as he declares himself to be, with the facts, and with the places he speaks of?’ ‘Were his habits, in a fair degree, those of an intelligent and accurate observer?’ Or, ‘Did he ordinarily take due care to report correctly what he was acquainted with?’

Now it is certain that the answers which must be returned to these questions do, on the whole, and in a large majority of instances, furnish a result decisively favourable to his reputation, both as a competent, and as a trustworthy writer. A diligent use of the copious means placed at our disposal by those researches in Palestine, which English, French, American, and German travellers have effected, yields proof, various in its kind, and often very definite, entirely excluding, as well the scepticism that had been admitted by some of the learned of the seventeenth century, as the less erudite cavils of recent writers. Beyond possibility of doubt, as may now be shown, Josephus was accurately and familiarly conversant with the things, and with the places, as well as with the transactions, of which he speaks; quite certain it is that he was observant in his habits, and in the main correct in his statements. The details of this confirmatory proof, gathered as it must be from many and various sources, will be presented, on every fit occasion, throughout the course of the present work, and the conclusion which this induction justifies we do not scruple to anticipate, in this place, while taking up the position—That, although entitled to no very exalted place on the ground of personal virtue, Josephus ought to be regarded as the truth-speaking historian of his country’s fall.

If this claim be admitted, then must the writings of the Jewish historian be ranked among the most valuable of the literary remains of antiquity; and this, even apart from the importance that may attach to them, in so far as they furnish incidentally many corroborations of the evangelic records. Assuredly, no translator or editor of Josephus, who himself professes a

serious and cordial belief in Christianity, would wish to seem indifferent toward, or unconscious of the weight and worth of, these attestations. Nevertheless, there is reason to think that the beneficial product—the actual result, confirmatory of the faith of an intelligent reader, is likely always to be in inverse proportion to the earnestness, to the anxiety, to the zealous intentness, of whoever makes it his business to adduce and insist upon them. By those who well know on what ground their faith as Christians rests, such a degree of equanimity as is desirable will be easily preserved.

The Translator would however be sorry to find that his freedom from all argumentative solitudes, should be misunderstood.—The tenor of the work, in the annotative department of it, will, he thinks, dispel any such misunderstandings, should they arise. For his own part, he feels persuaded that whatever decisions may be come to concerning this or that instance in which Josephus has heretofore been supposed to sustain the affirmations of the inspired writers, and to yield important contributions to the mass of the Christian evidences, or even if such single attestations were reduced in number, yet that the broad result—the general consequence of bringing, as we are about to do, this wide range of facts afresh before the Christian community, will be of a kind decisively confirmatory of BELIEF, and peculiarly seasonable, too, as related to the tendencies of opinion at the present moment.—

—What seems just now to be needed is not so much any new presentation of the Christian argument, as the bringing back upon the mind of the educated classes a firm, healthy, rational regard to the certainty of history, a deference to evidence, as opposed to the baseless theories, the myths, the mystifications, by means of which, of late, the public mind has been abused, and the edge of the most conclusive reasoning turned aside. There is needed an every-day familiarity with the scenes and the spots, with the persons, with the usages, and the costumes, with the minor incidents, as well as the leading events, of the Christian epoch. The times of the Gospel history are indolently thought of by many, as if the clouds and mists of the remotest ages had settled down, just upon that spot of time; or as if the rolling flood of years had there taken a sweep through an impenetrable gloom; and hence they have allowed themselves to listen to the wild conjectures of erudite pantheists.

The Translator of Josephus, therefore, without trenching upon the ground of the Christian advocate, without charging himself with responsibilities that do not attach to his present task, without, in any instance, stepping aside to catch some advantage in behalf of religious truth, will believe himself to be promoting it essentially, while leading the reader into a position of near familiarity with the men and things of the age when the Gospel was given to the world. In tracing a thousand coincidences between the literary and the palpable monuments of that time—in holding before the eye the graphic materials of history—in presenting effigies, and sculptures, and inscriptions—in exhibiting those masses of masonry which

eighteen centuries have spared—in delineating the structures upon which the Roman, the Greek (of the ecclesiastical period), the Saracen, the Crusader, the Turk, have left their successive marks—in doing this, and in holding forth, in all its verisimilitude, the image of the times in question, we supersede the painful labour of refuting anti-christian theories, and of controverting myths, by merely bringing the mind among brightly-illuminated objects—by leading it to a spot where day-light excludes dreams.

Although Josephus, in the closing paragraphs of his *Life*, alludes to events attaching to a much later period of it, the narrative is not professedly continued beyond the time when the subjugation of Judæa had been consummated: it therefore extends through a course of about thirty-four years, commencing with A. D. 37, which was the first year of Caligula, and the date of the birth of Josephus. The account he gives of his early years suggests various points of curious inquiry, which will hereafter be considered, along with those that bear upon his later history—both personal and literary. In the present instance, all that is intended is, to give a mere outline of Jewish affairs at the moment when our Author first took part in public life. This happened, he informs us, soon after he had completed his twenty-sixth year, at which period he visited Rome—A.D. 63, on behalf of certain Jewish priests, who had been sent thither prisoners by Felix, the procurator of Judæa. The precise date of his return to his native country does not appear, but it was evidently at a most critical moment, nor did he hesitate to mingle in the agitations of the times.

If we assume the date of the appointment of Gessius Florus, by Nero, as governor of Judæa, the atrocities of whose administration hurried forward the course of events by reducing the Jewish people to desperation—if we take this moment, A. D. 64, as the *termination* of an historical period, its *commencement* should be fixed about fifty-eight years earlier;—that is to say, at the time when Judas the Gaulonite, and his followers, the Zealots, first gave form and expression to the national pseudo-religious resentment against the Roman domination, regarded as a heathen violation of the principles of the Theocracy. Throughout this course of years—which the reader will remember was contemporaneous with the evangelic and apostolic history, this deep feeling—sometimes allayed, or diverted for a moment, by the wisdom and forbearance, either of Roman governors, or of the native princes, Herod's successors, had gone on, spreading and becoming more intense, and often provoked to fury, by the intolerable oppressions and cruelties of the Roman authorities, until its natural consequence—open rebellion, ensued, bringing with it the overthrow of the Jewish state, and the long dispersion of the race.

For our knowledge of the events of this nearly sixty years—one of the most signal periods in the history of nations, we are mainly indebted to

Josephus, sustained, indeed, and illustrated by various contemporary testimonies ; and it is this course of events that is brought under review in the "Jewish War." It would be out of place here to anticipate what will, with so much more advantage, offer itself in the subsequent history. Our present purpose is to furnish some brief notices concerning the personages, and the persons, whose names find a place in the "Life of Josephus." These—not including some names of no historic importance, are about forty, and the reader's convenience, in bearing in mind their relative positions, will be consulted by arranging them under three designations. The first includes ROMAN POTENTATES—the successive emperors—the presidents of Syria—the procurators or governors of Judæa—the commanders of legions, together with their subalterns. The second class embraces the NATIVE PRINCES—the descendants and successors of Herod—the kings of Judæa—the tetrarchs of the regions bordering upon Judæa, with their deputies, and persons in their employ. The third class comprehends JEWISH PERSONS in authority—regular, or irregular, from the actual High Priest, at any moment, down to the chiefs of bands of robbers ; as well as all who owned subjection to these magnates—great and small. Throughout the period above specified, Judæa, subject to varying political conditions, had been a Roman province, attached to Syria ; and its procurator, or governor, was subordinate to the president or proconsul of Syria. These were appointed immediately by the emperors, Syria being one of the *imperial provinces*—distinguished from the *senatorial*, and which, from various causes, were the objects of especial solicitude, and within which the chief military forces of the empire were concentrated.

I. The Roman imperial personages named by Josephus in the Life, are—Nero, the empress Poppæa, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Domitia.

The PRESIDENT OF SYRIA during the period which embraces the public life of Josephus, was C. CESTIUS GALLUS CAMERINUS, whose overthrow by the Jews emboldened them to attempt open resistance to the Roman government.

The GOVERNORS OF JUDÆA, during these years—not including FELIX, whose government was ten years earlier, were ALBINUS, GESSIUS FLORUS, and MÆRCUS ANTONIUS JULIANUS, of whom Gessius Florus alone is mentioned in the Life ; and even he, as it would seem, erroneously, in some places, or by fault of the copyists, where the president of Syria—Cestius Gallus, must be intended.

The Roman commanders, or the subordinate persons, acting under either the president, or the procurator, are—Neopolitanus, a commander of horse—Placidus, the commander of a cohort, under Cestius Gallus—Cerealius, a commander, and Æbutius, a decurion.

II. The NATIVE PRINCES, and the Tetrarchs of the neighbouring districts, with their adherents and dependents, mentioned in the Life, are.—

HEROD ANTIPAS, the son of Herod the Great, and who was tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, at a time anterior to the period we now refer to. He is

merely alluded to casually, Sect. IX. 2 ; his history will come before us hereafter.

HEROD AGRIPPA I., son of Aristobulus and Berenice, the grandson therefore of Herod the Great. He is only incidentally mentioned in the Life, Sect. IX. 3, where he is called "King Agrippa, the Father." By the Emperor Caligula he had been appointed tetrarch of Abilene, Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Auranitis—the countries to the eastward of Lebanon, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. When Herod Antipas (the preceding) was banished, this Agrippa received his tetrarchies—Galilee and Peraea. He was afterwards, by Claudius Cæsar, constituted king of Judæa, with Samaria and Idumæa ; his dominions exceeding, therefore, those of his grandfather ; and his administration, for the most part, being such as to secure for him the favour of his Jewish subjects. The manner of his death, at Cæsarea, A. D. 44, is narrated in Acts xii.

But the principal personage of the "Life," and belonging to this class, is HEROD AGRIPPA II., son of the foregoing, and the last of the princes of the family of Herod, as well as the last of the ruling representatives of the Asamonean, or Jewish sovereigns. His name frequently occurs in the following pages, where he is styled "Agrippa," or the "King," or "King Agrippa;" and he is often mentioned in conjunction with his sister—Berenice (Bernice) his connexion with whom gave much occasion for scandal among his Jewish subjects. Not to anticipate what will be presented in its proper place, we merely mention that, after the conclusion of the Jewish war, this Agrippa repaired, with his sister, to Rome, where he died, in the 70th year of his age, and the third of the reign of Trajan. It is the corroborative testimony of this prince that Josephus cites, Sect. LXV. 10, 11, as contained in two brief letters to himself. The Jewish race has owned no sovereign since the sceptre fell from the hand of this "King Agrippa." He did not possess that degree of favour in Judæa which his father had enjoyed : but his influence was exerted to the utmost, though fruitlessly, in repressing the fanatical turbulence of the people, and, throughout the war, he acted in concert with the Roman commanders. The seat of his government, and his more usual residence, was Hippos, and the district contiguous to the lake of Tiberias—on its eastern side ; and by grant of Nero, he was rightful sovereign of a narrow region on its western shores, including the then populous towns of Tiberias and Tarichæa. In the Life, several of those in the service—military or civil, of this prince, are mentioned incidentally : these are—

Philip, son of Jacimus, a prefect of King Agrippa. Varus, administrator, for a time, in the room of the preceding. Equiculus Modius, a commander of the king's forces. Sylla, a commander. Ptolemy, a Jew, and procurator of the kingdom. Crispus, a Jew, and officer of the household.

III. THE JEWISH PERSONAGES, and persons, whose names occur in the Life, demand some arranging into classes, to enable the reader to carry them

in his memory, without confusion : he will be aware that, throughout this period of less than sixty years—above referred to, the political conditions under which the affairs of the Jews were administered by their Roman masters, *varied from time to time* ; and this, not merely in relation to the degree of indulgence shown to the national usages and religious feelings of this singular people by the *local Roman authorities* ; but in relation also to the extent of power allowed to the successive princes of the family of Herod, this extent of power varying according to the favour enjoyed at Rome by the reigning prince ; or, on the contrary, the displeasure he might happen to draw upon himself. Nevertheless, throughout the course of these changes, and whether consequent upon the personal temper of princes or of Procurators, or upon imperial edicts, the Jewish chiefs, including those who had borne the office of high priest, and the members of the Sanhedrim, were never deprived of that prescriptive influence—secular as well as ecclesiastical, which they had so amply enjoyed and exercised during the bright, but brief era of the Asamonean independence. This influence, indefinite though it might be, embraced a large proportion of the functions of a home government, as well legislative as administrative ; and even while the high priest himself was the creature of the Herodian princes, removable at pleasure, and often indebted for his office to the most corrupt practices, yet the oligarchy, or ecclesiastical aristocracy, which had its seat at Jerusalem, and which ruled in Galilee by its deputies, controlled, in a sovereign manner, all those matters which, in fact, Roman presidents or governors considered to be indifferent, and concerning which, as not directly affecting the palpable interests of the empire, it might always be said, that they “ cared for none of these things.” In not a few instances the Jewish Rulers owed the very extensive powers they wielded to the supercilious indolence of their Gentile masters ; or to their contemptuous ignorance of national usages ; and often, even to their profligacy and rapacity.

This Great Council of the nation, sitting always at Jerusalem, was represented by an analogous body, in each city or town of Judæa, and also in those of Galilee, in which the Jewish population was predominant ; and it is thus that we hear, in the narrative of Josephus, of so many persons in authority, whose rivalries, animosities, and selfish interests, are ever and again throwing affairs into confusion, and giving endless trouble to the Governor, whom the Jerusalem authorities had appointed.

There appear moreover upon the stage several chiefs who must be separately specified, although in fact the individuals named might claim to come indifferently, or alternately, under either the one or the other designation. The first of these classes is that of the ZEALOTS, or those—for the most part sincere and fanatical agitators, who, adopting and vehemently professing the notions of Judas the Gaulonite, kept alive among their countrymen, and fomented by every means, the properly Jewish abhorrence of Gentile domination, and of all those institutions, those fiscal regulations, and those heathenish compliances, which marked the presence and supremacy of a

foreign and *idolatrous* government. For those who honestly took this part, great allowance is to be made ; and toward their extravagances much indulgence shown. Great principles and positive truths—misunderstood or misapplied, prompted their conduct ; and whatever violences, or even crimes they are chargeable with, an extenuating plea may be found for them in those intolerable oppressions of the Roman government under which they, and the nation, groaned.

For the second of these classes little indulgence can be claimed : they were the marauders and freebooters who, many of them foreigners, rushed sword in hand, upon the distracted Judæa and Galilee, sustaining themselves and their followers, either by direct violences and open depredations, or by tribute exacted from districts, as the price paid for an exemption from their incursions. At the moment of the breaking out of the war, the country was almost in the possession of these banditti ; or it was actually so, wherever the Roman legions left a field clear for them.

Not to include names of Jews only incidentally occurring, nor those belonging to an earlier era, the persons mentioned in the Life, as concerned in the transactions of that period, are—under the first head, Simon, son of Gamaliel, a distinguished member of the Sanhedrim, and a personal adversary of Josephus ; Ananias, Joshua, Jonathan, Ananias, Joazar, Judas, either chief priests, or secular persons, but who, as noted Pharisees, exercised a commanding influence at Jerusalem. Under the second head—that is to say, the leading men in the provincial cities or towns, and principally in those of Galilee—are to be mentioned, Julius Capellus, Pistus, and his son Justus, a noted person, and the immediate rival and implacable enemy of Josephus, of whom so much as is known will hereafter be adduced ; John of Gischala, another of our author's personal enemies ; Silas, governor of Tiberias, by appointment of Josephus ; Joshua, in authority there, but opposed to Josephus ; Dassion and Jannæus, leading persons in the same place ; Joshua and Jeremiah, employed by Josephus ; Joseph, styled Son of the Midwife, a turbulent person of Gamala. Of the third class—the chiefs of the Zealots, and the captains of the banditti, we need only name—Manahem, who will occupy a prominent place in the ensuing history ; and Joshua—commanding at one time eight hundred, and at another six hundred men.

A circumstance essential to a clear understanding of our author's narrative, is that intermixture of hostile races within the narrow limits of Palestine, which so much enhanced the disorders, and aggravated the miseries of the time. While the Jewish race were crowding the chief cities and towns of the surrounding, and even of remote countries, they were far from being in the exclusive possession of the petty inheritance of their fathers. If the population of Judæa and of Galilee was chiefly Jewish, that of the interposed Samaria was chiefly Gentile—a mongrel people—a confluence from the East and the West, agreeing in nothing but a rancorous and murderous hatred of the Jews. Besides this intervening and heterogeneous mass, the coast,

northward and southward, was densely occupied by heathen races—aboriginal or immigrant. Had these several classes of the teeming population observed their respective boundaries, the Roman authorities might perhaps have preserved peace among them ; but instead of this, the Jews and “the Greeks” were, in some towns, so nearly balanced as to numbers, or as to wealth and political influence, that incessant struggles for the ascendancy, or for an exclusive enjoyment of privileges, gave occasion to frightful municipal slaughters, of which thousands, with women and children, were the victims.

It must be admitted that the circumstances above briefly stated—political, social, and religious, are such as, at a first glance, seem to shed much perplexity upon the history before us. The reader will, however, soon become so far familiar with them, as to remove this apparent difficulty ; or if we might attempt to assist him still further in doing so, and might venture also to compare things so small with things great, we should refer him to what bears an accidental analogy, in several of its features, to the instance we have to do with.—If British India were thus used in illustration of Jewish affairs, as reported by Josephus, we should then name the distant British monarch, as the parallel of the distant Roman emperor. The Court of Directors would not, however, take precisely the place of the Senate, in this case ; inasmuch as Syria, being an *imperial* province, bore little or no relation to the Roman Senate. But the Governor-General will occupy a position much resembling that of the President or Proconsul of Syria, whose authority was absolute and paramount throughout the province ; while the Governor of one of the presidencies is as the Procurator of Judæa. The native princes—the allies and tributaries of the British Government, stand in the place of the Herods, the Agrippas, the Philips—the kings, or the tetrarchs, who ruled by the permission, and during the pleasure of the sovereign foreign power. Some of these might even be compared to the more considerable of the Zemindars, whose original authority has been augmented, consolidated, and rendered almost kingly, by means of British interposition. Even in the peopling of India we may catch analogies, illustrative of that of ancient Palestine ; and if the fanatical, intolerant, restless, idol-hating Mahometans take the place of the Jews, in our parallel, the polytheistic Hindoos must represent (though not indeed correctly) the Gentiles of Samaria, Ptolemais, and the Coast. If the reader gathers, from so loose a comparison, any aid in mastering the perplexities of Jewish history, all that was intended has been accomplished.

THE LIFE

OF ^a

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.



THE
LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:

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I. My family is not ignoble, but is descended from those who bore the priesthood from its first institution. But as, in different countries, the basis of nobility varies, so, with us, a participation in the priesthood is the evidence of an illustrious line. Not only however am I of sacerdotal extraction, but I trace my descent from the first of the twenty-four courses; and to this circumstance peculiar honour is attached. Of the most distinguished house in that course I am a scion. By the maternal side, moreover, I am of royal blood; for the posterity of Asamonæus, from whom my mother sprang, united in their own persons, during a long series of years, the high priesthood of our nation, and the regal authority.—I will recount the succession.

2. My ancestor, in the fifth ascending generation, was Simon, surnamed Psellus. He was a contemporary of that son of Simon who inherited the high priesthood from his father, and, first of the order, bore the name of Hyrcanus. To Simon Psellus were born nine sons, one of whom, Matthias—styled the son of Ephlias—espoused the daughter of the high-priest Jonathan, the first of the line of Asamonæus invested with the high priesthood, and brother to Simon, who also enjoyed that dignity. Matthias, in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus, had a son, Matthias, surnamed Kyrthus; to whom, in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra, was born a son—Joseph; and in the tenth year of Archelaus, Joseph had a son—Matthias, to whom I was born in the year that Caius Cæsar ascended the throne. I have three sons:—Hyrcanus, the eldest, born in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian Cæsar; Justus in the seventh; and Agrippa in the ninth. Having thus presented my readers with

the genealogy of our family, as I have found it inscribed in the public records, I set at nought those who endeavour to degrade us.

II. Illustrious, however, as was my father Matthias by the nobility of his birth, he was still more honoured for his virtues; being pre-eminently distinguished in Jerusalem, the most considerable of our cities. Educated with a brother, by name Matthias—for he was my brother both by father and mother—I made great proficiency in my studies, giving indication of a superior memory and understanding. Accordingly, while I was yet in boyhood, about my fourteenth year, my love of literature was the theme of general admiration; insomuch that the chief priests and leading men of the city were in the constant habit of assembling, in order to obtain from me more accurate information on points connected with our legal institutions.

2. When I was about sixteen years of age, I felt a wish to make myself acquainted, by personal experience, with the several sects existing amongst us, and which, as I have had frequent occasion to mention, are three in number—the first, that of the Pharisees; the second, that of the Sadducees; and the third, that of the Essenes—for it seemed to me that, after such an investigation, I should be qualified to select the best. Submitting, therefore, to various austerities, and undergoing many laborious exercises, I passed through the three sects. Not satisfied, however, with the knowledge I had thus acquired, on hearing of one named Banus, who spent his life in the desert, wearing such clothing as might be had from trees, eating the food which the earth spontaneously supplied, and using frequent ablutions of cold water, by day and by night, for purposes of purity—I took him as my exemplar; and having continued with him three years, and attained my object, I returned to the city. Being now nineteen years of age, I began to regulate my life agreeably to the rules of the Pharisees—a sect, bearing considerable resemblance to that known among the Greeks by the appellation of the Stoic.

III. I had not long completed my twenty-sixth year, when a circumstance happened, as I shall here relate, which induced me to make a voyage to Italy. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judæa, there were some priests of my acquaintance, honourable and good men, whom, on a frivolous and casual pretext, he had sent in irons to Rome, to render account of their conduct to Cæsar. For these I was anxious to discover some means of deliverance; and the more so, as I had understood that, even in their affliction, they were not inattentive to religious observances, using only figs and nuts for their sustenance.

2. I reached Rome after an extremely perilous voyage; for our ship having foundered mid-way in the Adriatic, we, to the number of about six hundred, had recourse to swimming, and had already remained the entire night in the water, when, at day break, a vessel from Cyrene providentially hove in sight, and received on board myself and others, eighty in all—more fortunate than our companions. Thus rescued from destruction, I landed at Dicæarchia, called by the Italians, Puteoli, and there formed a friendship with Aliturus, a comedian, a particular favourite of Nero, and a Jew by birth. Being by him introduced to Poppæa, Cæsar's consort, I availed myself of the earliest opportunity to solicit her good offices in procuring the liberation of the priests; and having, in addition to this act of kindness, received from Poppæa costly presents, I returned to Judæa.

IV. On my arrival, I perceived the seeds of revolution already showing themselves; and found many greatly elated at the revolt from the Romans. I accordingly used my endeavours to repress this insurrectionary spirit, and to induce a better feeling. I represented to them, that it was the Romans against whom they were about to array themselves; and that they were inferior to them not only in military skill, but in good fortune; and I warned them not thus rashly, and with such utter recklessness, to expose their country, their families, and themselves, to the most extreme perils. But, although, foreseeing that the issue of the contest would be most disastrous to us, I ceased not earnestly to dissuade them from their purpose, my efforts were unavailing—so completely were they overborne by the madness of desperation!

V. I was, in consequence, not without apprehensions, lest, by continually urging these considerations upon them, I might incur their hatred and suspicion, as one attached to the cause of their opponents, and thus run the risk of being seized by them, and put to death: and as they had already possessed themselves of the Antonia—a fort so called, I retired into the inner court of the temple. From this retreat I again ventured forth after the destruction of Manahem, and the leaders of the brigand band, and took up my residence with the chief priests, and with those of note among the Pharisees. Great was our terror on seeing the very populace in arms; and as we were in doubt what measures to adopt, and were at the same time unable to restrain the insurgents, while the imminence of our danger was manifest, we feigned acquiescence in their views, suggesting, that they should remain quiet for the present, and allow the enemy to withdraw; as we hoped that Gessius would ere long

appear at the head of a powerful army, and put an end to these commotions.

VI. In due time he arrived; but having given battle, he was defeated with great loss; and this discomfiture of Gessius became a source of calamity to our entire nation:—as those who were eager for war were thereby inordinately elated; and we presumed, that, as on this occasion, so on others, we should vanquish the Romans. Accessory to this, moreover, was a second cause, as follows, to which hostilities may be attributed.—The inhabitants of the neighbouring cities of Syria, having seized the Jews residing amongst them, put them to death, with their wives and children, though without the slightest ground of complaint against them; for they had cherished neither disaffection to the Roman government, nor animosity, nor treacherous intentions, toward themselves.

2. The Scythopolitans, however, perpetrated enormities, of all the most impious and atrocious; for, having been attacked by a band of Jews from another quarter, they compelled those of that nation who were among them to bear arms against their countrymen, which to us is forbidden; and after having, in concert with them, engaged and defeated their assailants, scarcely had they conquered, when, forgetful of the faith due to fellow-citizens and confederates, they put them, without exception, and to the number of many thousands, to the sword. Similar also were the cruelties inflicted on the Jews of Damascus. But of these occurrences a more accurate account may be found in my narrative of the Jewish war; and I merely introduce them here, from a wish to prove to my readers, that, in entering into a contest with the Romans, the Jews were rather impelled by necessity, than led by inclination.

VII. After the defeat of Gessius, to which we have just referred, the leading men in Jerusalem, perceiving that the brigands, and those who were anxious for innovation, were well supplied with arms, became apprehensive that, as they were themselves unprovided with the means of defence, they should fall a prey to their enemies, as indeed eventually occurred. Being informed, moreover, that the whole of Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, a portion of it being still tranquil, they deputed me, and two others, Joazar and Judas, like myself, of the sacerdotal order, and men of excellent character, to persuade the malecontents to lay down their arms, and to impress upon them that it were better to reserve these for the ablest of the nation; who, it had been determined, should have their weapons in constant readiness for future contingencies: but that mean time, they should wait for intelligence as to the designs of the Romans.

VIII. With these instructions I repaired to Galilee, and found the Sepphorites in no little anxiety respecting their territory; the Galilæans having resolved to ravage it, as well in revenge for their pacific sentiments towards the Romans, as for their having entered into relations of amity with Cestius Gallus, president of Syria. I allayed the fears of all, however, by interceding for them with the adverse party, and by the permission which I gave them to communicate, as often as they should wish, with their friends, who were held as hostages by Gessius, in Dora, a city of Phœnicia. The inhabitants of Tiberias, as I found, had already proceeded to arms: the circumstances were as follows.—

IX. In this city were three factions.—The first was composed of men of respectability, at the head of whom was Julius Capellus. He and his associates, accordingly, Herod the son of Miarus, Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compsus the son of Compsus, delivered it as their united opinion, that the city should, for the present, maintain its allegiance to the Romans, and to the king. Among these I have omitted to mention Crispus, brother of Compsus, formerly prefect under Agrippa the great king, as he was then at his estates beyond the Jordan. From these views Pistus dissented, being gained over by his son Justus; though his own natural disposition was in some degree noble.

2. The second faction, composed of persons of the lowest description, was bent on war. Justus the son of Pistus, who was the leader of the third faction, although he pretended to entertain doubts on the subject of hostilities, was at heart desirous of innovation; hoping in the revolution to attain power. He accordingly presented himself before the people, and laboured to induce the belief that Tiberias had always pertained to Galilee; that, in the days of its founder, Herod the tetrarch, it had been looked upon as the metropolis; and that even Sepphoris had, at his desire, been rendered subordinate to it.

3. “Under king Agrippa, the father,” said he, “this distinction had never been forfeited, the city maintaining its preëminence until Felix was appointed procurator of Judæa. But now it has been our misfortune to be made a present of by Nero to the younger Agrippa. Sepphoris bowed its neck to the Romans, and became in consequence, from that hour, the capital of Galilee, depriving us of the royal treasury, and the archives.”

4. Having given utterance to this, and much more to the disparagement of king Agrippa, in order to excite the people to revolt, he added, that “the season for an appeal to the sword had at length arrived—

the Galilæans would be their confederates ; nay, they might rule them with their own consent, on account of the hatred with which they regarded the Sepphorites for maintaining their fidelity to the Romans. They had now, therefore, with a large force at their disposal, an opportunity for revenge."

5. By these representations he gave an impulse to the multitude ; for he possessed an eloquence calculated to wind the people at his will, and to neutralize the opposition of those whose views were more consonant with the public good ;—so subtle and delusive were his arguments. Not unskilled in Grecian literature, and confiding in his acquaintance with it, he undertook to write a history of the events we are now recording ; studying, throughout, to disguise the truth. But of the extreme depravity of this individual, and of the fact that to him, in conjunction with his brother, our ruin may almost entirely be attributed, I shall adduce proof, in the progress of this narrative.

6. Justus having thus prevailed on the citizens to take up arms, though many of them indeed had been compelled by him against their inclination to do so, marched out at their head, and burned those villages belonging to Gadara and Hippos, which lay on the confines of Tiberias, and of the Scythopolitan territory.

X. Such was the state of affairs in Tiberias. I shall now relate how matters stood in Gischala. John the son of Levi, observing that several of the citizens were greatly elated in consequence of their revolt from the Romans, used his endeavours to restrain them, exhorting them to persevere in their allegiance. But his utmost exertions proved ineffectual ; for the inhabitants of the neighbouring states, Gadara, Gabara, and Sogana, having, in conjunction with the Tyrians, collected in large force, stormed and took Gischala, and, reducing it to ashes, razed it to the foundations, and returned home. Exasperated at this outrage, John armed all who were with him, and attacked these states. Gischala he rebuilt on an improved model, and fortified it for its future security.

XI. Gamala, however, maintained its fidelity to the Romans. The reason I shall explain. Philip the son of Jacinus, prefect of king Agrippa, after an unexpected escape from the royal residence in Jerusalem, when under siege, was, while in the act of fleeing, overtaken by danger from another quarter. Having been assailed by Manahem, and his brigands, he would beyond doubt have fallen a sacrifice, had not some Babylonians to whom he was related, and who were then in Jerusalem, prevented the execution of their purpose. Here Philip remained during four days, and

on the following fled, after disguising himself with false hair. Reaching a village in his jurisdiction, situated in the vicinity of the fortress of Gamala, he sent orders to some of those under his command to repair to him. His plans, however, Providence frustrated for his welfare; for had it not so happened, he would inevitably have perished. Being suddenly seized with a fever, he wrote to the children of his former master—Agrippa and Bernice, and delivered the letter to one of his freed-men, to convey to Varus, at that time administrator of the realm, which the king and his sister had confided to his care; they having gone to Berytus to pay a visit of compliment to Gessius. On receipt of Philip's communication, acquainting him with his safety, Varus became exceedingly uneasy, under the impression that his royal master and mistress would consider him a useless appendage, once that Philip had arrived. He accordingly produced the bearer before the people, and accused him of forging the letter; adding, that he had uttered a falsehood in stating that Philip was in Jerusalem, fighting against the Romans in the Jewish ranks; and he put him to death. His freed-man not returning, Philip, in doubt as to the cause, despatched a second courier with letters, to ascertain what had happened to the former; and to acquaint him with the reason of the delay. Him also, on his arrival, Varus insidiously accused, and ordered to execution. For that officer had been led to form high expectations by the Syrians of Cæsarea; they having alleged that, on account of the delinquencies of the Jews, the Romans would inflict capital punishment upon Agrippa, and that he, as the descendant of kings, would succeed to the throne. For Varus was confessedly of royal extraction, deriving his descent from Sohemus, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy in the vicinity of Lebanon. Such were the causes of his lofty aspirations; and such his motives for withholding the letters.

2. His next object was to prevent these documents from falling into the hands of Agrippa. For this purpose he stationed guards at the various passes, lest any one should escape, and convey to him tidings of these occurrences. With a view, moreover, to ingratiate himself with the Syrians of Cæsarea, he put many of the Jews to death. He entertained the design, also, of uniting with the people of Trachonitis, who were domiciled in Batanæa, and of carrying his arms against the Babylonian Jews; for by that appellation were known those who dwelt in Ecbatana. He accordingly summoned twelve of the most respectable of the Cæsarean Jews, and directed

them to proceed to Ecbatana, and address their countrymen in that city to the effect, that a report had reached Varus that they intended to march against the king; but not giving credit to the rumour, he had commissioned the present embassy to prevail on them to lay down their arms: their compliance would be an evidence that he had done well in not lending an ear to such statements. He, moreover, ordered them to depute seventy of the chiefs of their body to defend them on the subject of the allegation.

3. To this demand of Varus the Twelve, finding, on their arrival at Ecbatana, that their fellow-countrymen harboured no intention of revolt, invited them to accede; and they, entertaining no suspicion of the plot laid for their destruction, accordingly despatched the deputation. But when they were on their way to Cæsarea, in company with the twelve ambassadors, they were met by a body of the king's troops, under the command of Varus, who, ordering the whole party to be put to the sword, proceeded on an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. There was however one of the seventy who effected his escape, and informed his countrymen of what had happened; on which, snatching up their arms, they retired, with their wives and children, to the fortress of Gamala, leaving their villages amply stored with valuables, and stocked besides with many thousand head of cattle. Philip himself also, when made acquainted with these events, repaired to Gamala, and on his arrival the people, with loud importunities, called on him to assume the government, and march against Varus, and the Syrians of Cæsarea:—a report being in circulation that they had assassinated the king.

4. Philip, however, applied himself to restrain their impetuosity, by reminding them of the benefits conferred on them by Agrippa—of the formidable power of the Romans, and of the danger of entering into a contest with such an enemy; and he at length succeeded. The king, meanwhile, having been informed of Varus's intention to massacre in one day the Jews of Cæsarea, with their wives and children, to the number of many thousands, sent Equiculus Modius to supersede him in his command, as we have elsewhere related. Philip, however, retained possession of the fortress of Gamala, and of the country adjoining it, which were thus preserved in allegiance to the Romans.

XII. When I had reached Galilee, and was made acquainted with these facts by the messengers, I addressed a letter to the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem on the subject, and requested their instructions as to my future proceedings. They directed me to continue in my present

position; and, if my fellow-legates did not object, to retain them, and provide for the defence of Galilee. My colleagues, who had amassed a large sum of money from the tithes which they had received as due to their priesthood, had determined on returning to their own country; but at my solicitation, that they would delay until we could introduce some order into public affairs, they were induced to remain. I accordingly removed with them from Sepphoris to a village called Bethmaus, distant four furlongs from Tiberias, and sent a message from thence to the council of that city, and to the principal inhabitants, requesting them to come to me.

2. On their arrival, Justus being of the number, I informed them that myself and my associates were commissioned by the general council of Jerusalem to prevail on them to destroy the palace which Herod the tetrarch had erected, and which contained various figures of animals; our laws forbidding us to form any thing of that nature: and I begged their permission to demolish it without delay. For a considerable time Capellus, and the chief men of the party, resisted our proposal; but at length, swayed by us, they complied. Anticipating our labour, however, and with the aid of some Galilæans, Joshua, the son of Sapphias, whom we charged as the original promoter of the insurrection of the sailors and poorer classes, set the whole building on fire, in the hope that, as he had observed some of the ceilings overlaid with gold, he might enrich himself with the spoils. They carried off, notwithstanding, a variety of articles, acting herein contrary to our views; as we had, after the interview with Capellus and the leading men of Tiberias, taken our departure from Bethmaus for Upper Galilee. Joshua and his faction then put to the sword the entire Greek population, with all who, prior to the breaking out of hostilities, had been inimical to them.

XIII. On hearing of these occurrences, I became extremely incensed; and going down to Tiberias, I used my endeavours to recover from the plunderers as much as possible of the furniture of the palace, comprising, candelabra of Corinthian brass, royal tables, and a large quantity of unstamped silver. Resolved to preserve for the king what I had thus secured, I sent for the ten leading councillors, with Capellus, son of Antyllus, and committed the property to their custody, with injunctions to deliver it to no one but myself.

2. From Tiberias, my fellow-legates and I proceeded to Gischala, with a view to ascertain John's intentions; and I soon discovered that revolution was his purpose, and the supreme power the object of his ambition:—for he requested authority from me to export the corn

belonging to Cæsar, which was stored in the villages of Upper Galilee, under pretence of laying out the proceeds in repairing the fortifications of his native city. Divining as well his leading object, as the scheme at present on foot, I replied, that to such a demand I could not accede; it being my intention, as I had been entrusted with the direction of affairs in that quarter by the general council of Jerusalem, to reserve the corn, either for the Romans, or for my own use. Unable to win me over to his side, he turned to my fellow-legates, who were improvident of the future, and extremely accessible to a bribe.

3. Corrupted by his largesses, they accordingly issued an order, that all the grain in his province should be delivered to him; while I, a single individual, outvoted by the other two, remained silent. John played off, also, a second piece of craft.—He stated that the Jews inhabiting Cæsarea Philippi, and shut up by order of the king's lieutenant, there exercising sovereign power, had forwarded a request to him to the effect, that, as they had no oil pure enough for their use, he would exert himself to obtain for them a sufficient supply of that article, lest they should be compelled to use the produce of Greece, in violation of their legal institutions. This he said, not from motives of piety, but from the most sordid and bare-faced avarice; for he was well aware that two sextaries were sold for one drachma at Cæsarea, while at Gischala four drachmas would purchase fourscore sextaries. He, therefore, gave directions that all the oil in the place should be removed, alleging my authority in his support. My assent, however, was involuntary, having been extorted under the influence of fear; as I was apprehensive that, should I refuse, the populace would stone me. Thus John, acting under my permission, realized a vast sum of money by this sinister procedure.

XIV. Having at Gischala parted with my fellow-legates on their return to Jerusalem, I made it my business to provide weapons, and to put the towns in a posture of defence. I, moreover, invited to a conference the most determined of the brigands, perceiving that it would be impossible to deprive them of their arms, and persuaded the people to retain them as stipendiaries; remarking, that it was better voluntarily to give them a little, than to overlook their depredations. I then bound them by oath, not again to enter that district unless required to do so, or when their pay should be in arrear; and I dismissed them with a charge to attack neither the Romans, nor their neighbours: it being my chief care to preserve Galilee in tranquillity. Wishing to retain beside me, under the







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THE HOT BATHS OF TIBERIAS.



semblance of friendship, the authorities of the province, seventy in number, as hostages for the allegiance of the people, I made them the friends and companions of my journeys; I associated them with myself in the administration of justice; and never pronounced judgment until I had first obtained their concurrence: making it my endeavour, not to err in my decisions through precipitancy, and therein to keep my hands pure from every sort of bribery.

XV. I was now about thirty years of age—a period of life at which, whatever restraint we may put upon our unlawful inclinations, it is difficult to escape the shafts of envy; more especially if we are invested with extensive authority. I was careful to shield women from insult; and the presents that were offered to me, as unnecessary to my convenience, I treated with contempt; nor did I even accept, when brought to me, those tithes to which, as a priest, I had a claim. At the same time, after defeating the Syrians who inhabited the surrounding cities, I possessed myself of a portion of the spoils, which I acknowledge to have sent to my kindred in Jerusalem. And though I took Sepphoris twice, by storm, Tiberias four times, and Gadara once; and though I got John, who had frequently plotted my destruction, into my power, I punished neither him, nor any of the above-mentioned states, as the progress of this narrative will attest. On this account I presume it was, that God, ever observant of the rectitude of human conduct, delivered me from the hands of my enemies, and subsequently preserved me, as I shall relate in the sequel, amidst the numerous perils to which I was exposed.

XVI. So great was the attachment of the Galilæans to my person, and such their fidelity, that when their cities had been taken by assault, and their wives and children carried into slavery, deep as were their groans over their own calamities, deeper still was their solicitude for my safety. Observing this, John was filled with envy, and wrote to me requesting my permission to come down, and use the hot baths of Tiberias for the benefit of his health. Entertaining no suspicion of any sinister design, I not only threw no obstacles in the way, but further sent special instructions to those to whom I had confided the administration of Tiberias, to prepare apartments for him and his attendants; and to provide them with an abundance of every necessary. I resided at this period in a village of Galilee, called Cana.

XVII. John, on his arrival in Tiberias, addressed himself to the inhabitants, with the view of inducing them to withdraw their allegiance from me, and attach themselves to him; and there were not a

few, who, ever fond of innovation, disposed by natural temperament to change, and delighting in sedition, lent a willing ear to his exhortations. The most eager to revolt from me, and to connect themselves with John, were Justus and his father Pistus. By timely measures, however, I disconcerted their plans; for a messenger had reached me from Silas, whom, as I have already mentioned, I had appointed governor of Tiberias, informing me of the dispositions of the people, and advising me to hasten thither, as any delay might occasion the loss of the town.

2. On receipt of this intelligence, I set out for Tiberias, accompanied by two hundred men, and marched throughout the entire night; having sent forward a courier to announce my approach. Arriving early in the morning within a short distance of the place, I was met by the inhabitants. John, who was with them, saluted me with evident marks of perturbation; and fearing lest, should his conduct be exposed, his life might be endangered, he retired with quick steps to his lodging. Going forward to the stadium, I there dismissed my life-guards, with the exception of one, whom, with ten soldiers, I retained. Taking my stand on an elevated tribunal, I now attempted to address the crowd, and exhorted them not thus hastily to revolt. Such a change, I remarked, would attach a stigma to their character; and suspicions might then justly be entertained by their future governors, that, as they had been unfaithful to others, so would they be to them.

XVIII. I had not yet concluded my address, when I heard one of my attendants bidding me come down, as it was no time for me to trouble myself about the allegiance of the Tiberians:—I should rather be consulting my own safety, and how I might escape from my enemies. John, on learning that I was left alone with my domestics, had selected the most trusty of the thousand soldiers under his command, and had given them orders to repair to the stadium, and despatch me. They came as directed, and would have effected their purpose, had I not instantly sprung down from the tribunal, and, with James, my life-guard, aided by one Herod of Tiberias, who carried me through the crowd, and acted as my guide, made good my retreat to the lake, where I seized a boat, and leaping into it—rescued beyond all expectation from my enemies—pursued my course to Tarichæa.

XIX. The inhabitants of this city, on being informed of the perfidy of the Tiberians, became highly exasperated, and snatching up their arms, desired to be led against them; expressing their wish to avenge their general. They also circulated throughout Galilee a report of

these occurrences; exerting themselves to the utmost to excite indignation against the Tiberians; and they further called upon their brethren to join them with as large a force as possible, in order that, under the advice of their commander, they might act as should seem best. The Galilæans, accordingly, ready armed, assembled in crowds from all quarters; entreating me to attack Tiberias—to carry it by assault—lay it even with the ground, and reduce its inhabitants—men, women, and children, to slavery. To the same purport, likewise, were the sentiments of those of my friends who had escaped from Tiberias.

2. To these demands, however, I refused to accede, shuddering at the thought of commencing a civil war; for I felt that, farther than words, this quarrel ought not to proceed. I assured them, moreover, that I should be doing them an injury, were I to comply with their request, as the Romans were keeping aloof until our ranks should be thinned by mutual dissensions. With these observations I allayed the anger of the Galilæans.

XX. John, after the failure of his machinations, entertaining apprehensions for his safety, removed, accompanied by his men at arms, from Tiberias to Gischala. From thence he wrote to me, defending himself on the subject of these transactions, as not having taken place with his approbation, and begging me, at the same moment, to harbour no suspicions to his disadvantage; adding oaths, and certain dreadful imprecations, by which he hoped to obtain credit for his assertions.

XXI. The Galilæans, meanwhile, in conjunction with many who had again assembled in arms, from all quarters, aware of the wickedness and perjury of the man, importuned me to lead them against him, avowing their determination utterly to destroy both him and Gischala. For their readiness to serve me I expressed my gratitude, and promised to outdo them in kindness; but entreated them, at the same time, to restrain their feelings, and pardon the resolution I had formed, to put an end to these disturbances without bloodshed. Having brought them over to my views, I took my departure for Sepphoris.

XXII. The inhabitants of this city, having decided on maintaining their allegiance to the Romans, were alarmed at my arrival, and endeavoured, by diverting my attention elsewhere, to relieve themselves from anxiety. For this purpose they communicated with Joshua, the brigand chief, who harboured on the confines of Ptolemaïs, promising him a large reward, if, with the force under his command, which numbered eight hundred men, he would light up a war against

us. Influenced by these promises, he laid his plans for falling on us while unprepared, and entertaining no suspicion of his design. He accordingly sent me a message, requesting that I would permit him to come and salute me. Quite unconscious of his meditated treachery, I acceded to his desire; on which, accompanied by his band of marauders, he hastened toward Sepphoris. Little success, however, attended his villany; for, when he had already arrived within a short distance of the town, one of his company deserted, and running forward, apprised me of his intentions.

2. On receipt of this information, I repaired to the market-place, pretending ignorance of the plot. I then ordered out a large body of Galilæans, under arms, with a few Tiberians; and having directed all the avenues to be carefully guarded, I charged the sentries at the gates to suffer none to enter but Joshua, and those nearest him, excluding the remainder; and, in case they should attempt a violent entrance, to repel them by force.

3. In obedience to these instructions, Joshua was admitted with a few others. I then commanded him instantly to throw down his arms, on peril of death; upon which, beholding himself surrounded with soldiers, he was seized with terror, and complied. Those of his band who had been shut out from the city, hearing of his capture, took to flight. Calling Joshua aside, I told him that I was no stranger to his perfidious intentions respecting me, nor was I ignorant by whom he had been commissioned. I was, however, still willing to pardon him, if he would express contrition, and promise to be faithful to me. To this he assented; and I gave him leave to depart, with liberty to re-assemble his scattered troop. The Sepphorites I threatened with punishment, should they not desist from their senseless proceedings.

XXIII. About this time came to me two chiefs from the region of Trachonitis, subjects of the king, bringing their horses, accoutrements, and money. These individuals, the Jews were inclined forcibly to circumcise, if they wished to reside amongst them. I would not, however, suffer any violence to be used towards them; observing, that every one should worship God according to his own inclination, and not by constraint; and that we should not give men, who had fled to us for protection, cause of regret. Having thus prevailed with the multitude, I provided our visitors with an ample supply of every thing suited to their customary mode of life.

XXIV. King Agrippa now despatched a force, under the command of Æquiculus Modius, to demolish the fortress of Gamala; but as the detachment was not in sufficient strength to allow of its invest-

ing the place, the troops sat down before it on open ground, and commenced a siege. *Æbutius*, the decurion, to whom had been confided the government of the Great Plain, learning that I was at *Simonias*, a village situated on the confines of Galilee, and distant from him sixty furlongs, accompanied by the hundred horse, whom he had with him, about two hundred foot, and a body of auxiliaries from the town of *Gaba*, marching by night, appeared before the village where I was posted. I drew up, with a considerable force, in order of battle; and though *Æbutius*, relying principally upon his cavalry, endeavoured to entice us into the plain, I remained immovable, determined to come to action in my present position; well aware of the advantage his horse would possess over my troops, which consisted entirely of infantry, should we descend to the level ground.

2. For some time *Æbutius*, with his party, maintained a gallant attack; but perceiving that his cavalry were unserviceable in such a situation, he retired to the town of *Gaba*, without accomplishing his object, and with the loss of three of his men. I pursued him closely with a detachment two thousand strong; and on reaching the town of *Besara*, which lies on the borders of *Ptolemais*, twenty furlongs from *Gaba*, where *Æbutius* had halted, I stationed my force outside the village, with injunctions carefully to guard the passes, so as to prevent molestation from the enemy, until we should remove the corn, of which there was a large quantity in the place. It belonged to Queen *Bernice*, and had been collected from the neighbouring hamlets, and stored in *Besara*. I accordingly loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought with me, and sent the grain into Galilee. Having effected this, I offered *Æbutius* battle; but as he declined it, from alarm at our eagerness for action, and intrepid front, I marched against *Neopolitanus*, who, I was informed, had been laying waste the territory of *Tiberias*. This *Neopolitanus* was commander of a troop of horse, and to him *Scythopolis* had been committed for protection from the enemy. Having, therefore, prevented him from doing further injury to *Tiberias*, I turned my attention to the affairs of Galilee.

XXV. When *John*, the son of *Levi*, who, as we have said, resided in *Gischala*, was informed that every thing proceeded with me according to my wishes, that I was beloved by those under my command, and regarded with dismay by the enemy, he felt chagrined; and, in the belief that my success would lead to his ruin, became a prey to immoderate envy. Hoping that, could he inspire hatred toward me in those under my orders, he should check my good fortune,

he laboured, thinking that Gabara would follow the example of defection, to seduce the inhabitants of Tiberias and Sepphoris—these were the three largest towns in Galilee—from my interests, and attach them to his own; assuring them, that, in his conduct as their general, he would be found my superior.

2. To these proposals, Sepphoris, which preferred subjection to the Romans, and would therefore attend to neither of us, declined to accede. Tiberias, though it did not take part in the revolt, yet consented to favour his pretensions; while Gabara, through the persuasions of Simon, the leading person there, and John's friend and associate, joined his party. The people of Gabara, it is true, greatly dreading the Galilæans, of whose kindly feelings towards me they had had frequent proof, did not openly avow their defection; but they secretly watched for any opportunity that might offer for my destruction. I was in consequence brought into extreme danger, under the following circumstances.—

XXVI. Some young men of daring character, natives of Dabaritta, having observed the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, attended by a numerous retinue, and an escort of cavalry, pursuing her journey over the Great Plain, from a district under the royal jurisdiction to one in occupation of the Romans, fell suddenly on the party, and after obliging the lady to take to flight, carried off the whole of her baggage. They then repaired to Tarichæa, where I was residing at the time, bringing with them four mules laden with raiment and other valuables; besides a large quantity of silver, and five hundred pieces of gold. It being my wish to preserve these articles for Ptolemy, as he was of Jewish blood—and we are prohibited by our laws from robbing even an enemy—I informed the parties, that it was necessary that these effects should be reserved for sale, and the proceeds applied in repairing the walls of Jerusalem.

2. Incensed that they had thus been disappointed in receiving a share of the plunder, the young men went to the villages around Tiberias, stating that I was about to betray their country to the Romans. It was a mere pretence on my part, they said, to allege that what had been obtained by rapine should be kept for repairing the fortifications of Jerusalem; as I had determined on restoring these spoils to the owner. And on this head they were not astray as to my intention. For as soon as they had withdrawn, I sent for the two leading men, Dassion, and Jannæus, the son of Levi, who were among the most attached of the king's partizans, and directed them to take the produce of the plunder, and

return it to him ; threatening them with the penalty of death, should they communicate to any one these my orders.

XXVII. The whole of Galilee being filled with the rumour that I was about to betray the country to the Romans, and the people, in their excitement, universally demanding my punishment, the inhabitants of Tarichæa, in the belief that the young men had spoken the truth, persuaded my body-guards and soldiers to withdraw from me while I was asleep, and repair with haste to the Hippodrome, there, in common concert, to devise measures against the general. Thither they accordingly proceeded, and found a vast concourse already assembled, and uniting in a cry for vengeance on the wretch who had betrayed them. The principal fomentor of the uproar was the son of Sapphias, Joshua, at that time chief magistrate of Tiberias :—a profligate character, naturally disposed to disturb affairs of importance, and unmatched as a promoter of sedition and change. With the laws of Moses in his hands, he presented himself to the people, and thus addressed them :—

2. “ If you cannot bring yourselves to hate Josephus on account of your own wrongs, citizens, yet, looking with reverence on your country’s laws, which your commander-in-chief is about to betray, and, detesting him for their sakes, punish the man who has dared to do such things.”

XXVIII. This harangue having been greeted by the multitude with shouts of applause, he hurried, with some soldiers, to the house in which I resided, with a determination to despatch me. Foresceing no danger, I had, from fatigue, retired to rest previous to the riot. Simon, who had been entrusted with the defence of my person, and who alone had remained with me, observing the crowd rushing towards the house, awoke me, and announcing the danger impending over me, entreated me to die honourably, as a general, by his sword, before my enemies should enter, and either place me in durance, or put me to death.—Such was his counsel ; but commending my cause to God, I prepared with all haste to go forth to the people. Having therefore exchanged my dress for one of black, and suspended my sword from my neck, I proceeded to the Hippodrome by a different road, on which I expected to encounter none of my enemies ; and, presenting myself suddenly before the assembly, threw myself on the ground, bedewing it with my tears, and excited general commiseration. Perceiving the change in the feelings of the people, I endeavoured to sow disunion among them, before the armed party should return from my house. I therefore acknowledged that I was guilty to the full extent of their suspicions ; but prayed leave

to inform them, first, for what purpose I had reserved the money accruing from the plunder, and then to die, should they so command. Just as the multitude granted me liberty to speak, the soldiers arrived, and, observing me, ran forward with the intention of despatching me. They desisted, however, on being ordered so to do by the crowd; in the expectation, that, as soon as I should admit having reserved the money for the king, they should be permitted to kill me as a self-avowed traitor.

XXIX. General silence prevailing, I thus addressed them :—

“My countrymen, to die, I refuse not, if justice so require. I wish, however, before my death, to give you a true statement of the facts. Aware that this your city is famed for hospitality, and is crowded with numbers who have abandoned their native soil, and have come to share your fortunes, I had formed the design of fortifying it with this money, which, though about to be expended on your own walls, has notwithstanding excited your anger.” I had scarcely uttered these words, when a murmur arose among the Tarichæans, and their guests, who, expressing their gratitude, exhorted me not to be discouraged. The Galilæans and Tiberians, however, still cherishing resentment, the whole assemblage began to quarrel among themselves, the one party threatening to take my life, the other desiring me to treat these menaces with contempt. But on my promising to fortify Tiberias, and the other cities which stood in need of defence, confiding in my assurances, they retired, each to his home. Having thus, beyond all hope, escaped from this perilous situation, I returned to my residence, escorted by my friends and twenty men under arms.

XXX. The brigands, however, and the ringleaders of the tumult, apprehensive for themselves, lest I should visit them with punishment for their conduct, proceeded to my dwelling a second time, accompanied by six hundred armed men, with the intention of setting it on fire. Informed of their approach, and thinking that it would be unbecoming in me to fly, I determined to have recourse to a piece of hardihood.

2. I gave directions accordingly to secure the doors, and, going to the upper story, desired them to depute some of their body to receive the money; adding, that there would be then no further cause for resentment towards me. The most courageous man among them having been sent in, I had him severely scourged; and, ordering one of his hands to be cut off, and suspended from his neck, I turned him out in that state to his comrades. Thrown into extreme terror and consternation by this procedure, the rioters, imagining that I had a

guard within, more numerous than themselves, and dreading similar treatment should they remain, decamped with precipitation. Such was the stratagem by which I was preserved from this second conspiracy.

XXXI. On another occasion, some individuals laboured to excite the populace against me, declaring that the chiefs, who had come to us from the royal territories, should not be suffered to live, unless they would conform to the usages of those with whom they had found an asylum; affirming, at the same time, that they were sorcerers, and had invited the Romans into the country. In these views the people, deluded by plausible assertions, which were designed to conciliate their favour, readily acquiesced. On being informed of this, I again urged upon the populace that they ought not to persecute those who had taken refuge with them. The absurdity of the charge of witchcraft I exposed by remarking, that the Romans would not maintain so many thousands of soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by enchantments. By this argument I pacified them for the present; but, after they had retired, they once more, under the influence of evil advisers, became irritated against the chiefs; and at length made an attack in arms upon their house in Tarichæa, with the intention of putting them to death.

2. When informed of this, fearing lest, should such an atrocity be perpetrated, strangers would be deterred from seeking an asylum in the town, I repaired, with some others, to the residence of the chiefs, and having secured the door, opened a trench, leading from the house to the lake. I then ordered up a boat, and, embarking with them, passed over to the frontiers of Hippos; where, having paid them the value of their horses, which, in so precipitate a flight, it was impossible that I could bring in from the pastures, I took my leave, earnestly exhorting them to bear up with fortitude under their present difficulties. It was with deep regret that I saw myself compelled to expose, once more, on a hostile soil, men who had fled to me for protection; yet I thought it better that they should perish, if such should be their lot, by the hands of the Romans, than within my jurisdiction. Eventually, however, they escaped; having received a pardon for their misdemeanors from Agrippa. And thus terminated their adventures.

XXXII. The inhabitants of Tiberias had, in the mean time, written to the king, requesting him to send them a force for the defence of their territory, as they were desirous of attaching themselves to him. Such was the purport of the communication;

but, on my arrival amongst them, they petitioned me to build a wall round their city, agreeably to my promise, as they had heard that Tarichæa had already been fortified. To this proposal I acceded; and, having made all the necessary preparations, I directed the workmen to proceed with vigour. Three days after, however, as I was on my way to Tarichæa, which lay at a distance of thirty furlongs from Tiberias, it happened that some Roman horse were observed on their march, not far from the town; which led to the belief that the reinforcements from the king were approaching. Instantly a loud shout burst forth; the king's name being greeted with warm applause, while I was covered with invectives.

2. Informed of this, by one who ran to tell me that a revolt was intended, I felt exceedingly alarmed, as I had dismissed my soldiers from Tarichæa to their homes; for, the next day being the sabbath, I was reluctant to have the city disturbed by a crowd of military. Often, however, as I had resided in that place, I had never taken any precautions for my personal safety, so many proofs had I received of the fidelity of the inhabitants towards me. As I had now about me not more than seven soldiers, and a few friends, I was doubtful what course to pursue. I did not think it proper to re-assemble my forces, as the day was already declining; and, even had they been at hand, I could not have ordered them to arms on the morrow, such a proceeding being prohibited by our laws, urgent though the necessity might seem. Should I, on the other hand, grant the people of Tarichæa, and the strangers who were among them, liberty to plunder the town, I was aware that they were of insufficient strength; and I foresaw that a considerable interval must elapse before I could be on the spot, as I thought to anticipate the arrival of the royal army, and cut it off from the city. I determined, therefore, to employ a stratagem against them.—Having stationed, with all despatch, the most confidential of my friends at the gates of Tarichæa, with injunctions to keep in safe custody those who wished to pass outwards, I summoned the heads of families, and directed them severally to launch their ships, taking each a pilot on board, and to follow me to Tiberias. I then embarked with my friends, and the seven soldiers already mentioned, and steered for that place.

XXXIII. The Tiberians, when they learned that no succours were coming to them from the king, and saw the lake covered with vessels, were alarmed for the city, and, struck with terror under the impression that the ships were filled with assailants, changed their plans. Accordingly, throwing down their arms, they came forth to meet me, with



W. TIPPIN.

TARICHÄA.

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wives and children, and extolling me to the skies, entreated me to spare the city; not dreaming that I had received intimation of their designs. On approaching the land, I directed the pilots to cast anchor at some distance from the shore, in order to conceal from the Tiberians the total absence of an attacking force on board my fleet. I then advanced in one of our vessels, and reproved the people severely for their weakness and fickleness in revolting from me without any just cause. I promised, notwithstanding, to treat them with forbearance for the time to come, on condition that they would send me ten of the leaders of the populace. Readily assenting to this proposal, they delivered them up, and I put them on board ship, to be conveyed to Tarichæa, and there detained in custody.

XXXIV. Having by this stratagem gradually got the whole of the council into my power, I transferred them to Tarichæa, and with them a considerable number of the popular party, leading men, and not inferior to the others. The eyes of the multitude being now opened to the extent of misery to which they had reduced themselves, they called on me to bring to punishment the author of the sedition—by name Clitus, a daring and headstrong youth. Feeling that I could not, without impiety, put one of my countrymen to death, while it was at the same time necessary to make an example of him, I commanded Levi, a soldier of my body guard, to advance, and cut off one of his hands. The man being afraid, however, to venture alone into the midst of such a crowd, whilst I was equally unwilling that they should notice his timidity, I thus addressed Clitus: “Since you even deserve to lose both your hands for your base ingratitude to me, become your own executioner, lest, in case of your refusal, I visit you with a severer punishment;” for, the fellow being extremely urgent with me to spare him one of his hands, I had, after much hesitation, consented; on which, lest he should lose both, he cheerfully drew his sword, and severed his left hand from his body: and this terminated the sedition.

XXXV. The Tiberians, discovering, on my arrival at Tarichæa, the stratagem I had employed against them, were struck with admiration at the manner in which, without any sacrifice of life, I had put an end to their folly. I now sent for a few of those in custody, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, and made them sup with me. During the repast I remarked to them, that I was myself likewise not ignorant that the power of the Romans was paramount, but that I had been silent upon the subject, on account of the brigands. I therefore recommended them to follow my

example, and, waiting for a fitting season, not to be impatient under my command; as they could scarcely expect another to conduct himself towards them with equal moderation. I also reminded Justus that the Galilæans, previous to my arriving from Jerusalem, had, on a charge of forging letters prior to the war, cut off his brother's hands; and that, after the departure of Philip, the people of Gamala, rising in insurrection against the Babylonians, had slain Chares, a kinsman of Philip, and deliberately punished his brother Joshua, the husband of Justus's sister. Such was the tenor of my conversation during the entertainment; and, early on the ensuing morning, I ordered Justus, and his fellow prisoners, to be discharged.

XXXVI. Some time previous to the events we have been relating, Philip, the son of Jacimus, retired from the fortress of Gamala, under the following circumstances.—Having learned that Varus had withdrawn from the service of King Agrippa, and that his friend and comrade of former days, Modius *Æquiculus*, had come as his successor, Philip wrote to the latter, acquainting him with the vicissitudes of his fortune, and requesting him to forward to the king and queen the letters he transmitted. Modius, overjoyed at the receipt of a communication which assured him of Philip's safety, despatched the letters; Agrippa and the queen being then at Berytus. The king, on ascertaining that the rumour concerning Philip was void of foundation—a report having gone abroad that he had assumed the command of the Jews in their contest with the Romans, sent a party of horse to conduct him to court. On his arrival, he received him with the warmest affection, and, presenting him to the Roman generals, observed, that this was that Philip who was said to have revolted from their standard. He then directed him to repair immediately with a body of cavalry to the fortress of Gamala, in order to bring from thence his entire household, and to reinstate the Babylonians in Batanæa; enjoining him, likewise, to use all possible precaution to repress insurrection among those under his rule. These instructions Philip hastened to execute.

XXXVII. About this time, Joseph, the midwife's son, induced a number of desperate youths to unite with him; and addressing, in a seditious tone, the leading men in Gamala, endeavoured to prevail on them to revolt from the king, and take up arms, holding out the hope of their obtaining freedom by his aid. Some they compelled to do so;—those who were dissatisfied with their designs, they put to the sword. It was on this occasion that they slew Chares, together with Joshua, one of his kinsmen, and brother of Justus of Tiberias, of which mention has been just made. They then wrote

to me for a body of troops to garrison the town, and for workmen to repair the walls: neither of which requests I refused.

2. The region of Gaulanitis, also, as far as the village of Solyma, rose in rebellion against the king. I constructed walls around Seleucia and Soganni, places naturally of very great strength; and in like manner protected several villages of Upper Galilee, though in an extremely rocky situation, such as Jamnia, Meroth, and Achabare. In lower Galilee, likewise, I fortified the cities of Tarichæa, Tiberias, and Sepphoris, and the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Bersobe, Selamin, Jotapata, Caphareccho, Sigo, Japha, and Mount Tabor. I further provided them with ample magazines of corn, and arms, for their future security.

XXXVIII. The hatred, meanwhile, with which I was regarded by John, the son of Levi, who beheld my prosperity with pain, daily augmented. Accordingly, after completing the fortifications of his native place, Gischala—determined to put me entirely out of the way, he despatched his brother Simon, and Jonathan, son of Sisenna, with about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, for the purpose of engaging Simon, the son of Gamaliel, to use his influence with the general council to deprive me of the government of Galilee, and elect him instead. This Simon was a native of Jerusalem, descended from a very honourable family, and of the sect of the Pharisees, who are reputed to excel others in accurate acquaintance with the legal institutions of their country. A man he was, endowed with extraordinary intelligence and judgment; and well able to correct disorder in public affairs from the resources of his own mind. He had been, of old, the friend and intimate of John; and was, at this time, at variance with me.

2. Yielding to this influence, Simon addressed himself to the chief priests, Ananus, and Joshua, the son of Gamala, and others of their party, advising them to nip the evil in the bud, and not overlook my advance to the summit of glory. He added, that it would be for their advantage were I removed from Galilee; and urged them, moreover, to make no delay, lest, obtaining information of what was going forward, I should march with a formidable army to Jerusalem. Such were Simon's suggestions. Ananus, the chief priest, on the other hand, objected that these measures were not of easy accomplishment; as many of the chief priests and heads of the people testified that I had discharged the duties of a general with credit; adding, that, to accuse a man against whom no charge could be substantiated, was the act of a depraved mind.

XXXIX. Simon, on hearing these observations of Ananus, cautioned the deputation to maintain silence, and not divulge the purport of their errand; stating that he had taken precautions for my speedy removal from Galilee. He accordingly sent for John's brother, and directed him to distribute presents amongst the party of Ananus, remarking that he would thus quickly induce them to alter their views; and Simon eventually gained his object; for Ananus and his associates, corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me from Galilee;—their purpose, meanwhile, being carefully concealed from every one in the town. In pursuance of their plan they determined to send men, differing indeed in birth, but equal in education; of whom two, Jonathan and Ananias, were secular persons, attached to the sect of the Pharisees; the third, Joazar, was of sacerdotal lineage, he also a Pharisee; the youngest of the deputation being Simon, one of the chief priests.

2. These were instructed, in their interviews with the Galilæans, to inquire from them the grounds of their predilection in my favour. Should it be alleged, that it arose from my being born in Jerusalem, they were to reply, that they four were all likewise natives of that place: if from my being conversant with their laws, answer was to be made, that neither were they unacquainted with the institutions of their country: but were it farther stated, that they loved me from respect for the priesthood, they were to rejoin, that two of themselves also were priests.

XL. On delivering these instructions to Jonathan and his colleagues, they handed them forty thousand pieces of silver, out of the public treasury; and having learned that there was a Galilæan, named Joshua, residing in Jerusalem, who had about him an armed band of six hundred men, they sent for him, and, giving him three months' pay, directed him to follow the deputies, and obey their orders. Three hundred citizens, moreover, were supplied severally with money for their support, and desired likewise to pursue the route of the embassy. These acquiescing, and being now in readiness for the journey, Jonathan and his party set out with them, attended also by John's brother, and a hundred of the soldiery. The instructions they received were, in case I should voluntarily lay down my arms, to send me prisoner to Jerusalem; but in the event of any opposition, to despatch me without fear of consequences—for such were their commands. They had also written to John to be prepared for the hostile movement against me; while orders were transmitted to Sepphoris, Gabara, and Tiberias, to furnish him with their respective complements of troops.

XLI. With these proceedings I was made acquainted by a letter from my father, who obtained his intelligence from Joshua, the son of Gamala, a friend and companion of mine, who was present at that meeting. Deeply distressed, indeed, I could not but feel on discovering that my fellow-citizens had allowed envy so far to overcome their sense of gratitude, as to issue orders for my destruction: while my grief was enhanced by my father's imploring me to come to him, and expressing an ardent desire to see his son before his death. Of these occurrences I did not fail to inform my friends; adding, that, in the course of three days, I should leave that district, on my return home.

2. At this intimation all were overwhelmed with sorrow, and besought me, with tears, not to abandon them; as ruin would be inevitable, should they be deprived of my counsel and conduct. Anxious for my own safety, however, I declined acceding to their entreaties; but the Galilæans, fearing lest, on my withdrawal, they should be exposed to the outrages of the brigands, despatched messengers through the province to acquaint the people with my intended departure. A numerous assemblage, accordingly, collected from all quarters, with their wives and children, not so much, as I conceive, from affection for me, as through apprehension for themselves; under the persuasion that so long as I continued in the country, no injury could befall them. The place of meeting was the great plain, which bears the name of Asochis, and in which I then resided.

XLII. On that night I was visited with a very remarkable dream. I had retired to rest, grieved and disturbed at the tidings which had reached me, when, as I thought, one stood beside me, and addressed me in these words:—"Cease, O man, to afflict thy soul: banish every fear. That which now grieves thee will greatly promote thy advancement, and crown thy felicity. Not thy present difficulties only, but many others also, thou shalt successfully encounter. Despond not then. Remember that thou hast to contend with the Romans."

2. On awaking from this dream, I started up, much cheered, in order to go down to the plain. The moment I appeared, the assembled Galilæans, and among them were women and children, fell prostrate, and with tears implored me not to abandon them to their enemies, nor, by my departure, consign their country to the brutal insolence of their foes. Finding me deaf to their entreaties, they compelled me with adjurations to continue with them; bitterly

upbraiding the people of Jerusalem for not allowing their country to remain in peace.

XLIII. While I listened to these expressions of grief, and witnessed the dejection of the crowd, my heart was rent with compassion, and I felt that it became me, in behalf of so vast a multitude, to await even imminent danger. I accordingly consented to remain; and having directed five thousand of them to attend me with arms and a supply of provisions, I dismissed the others to their homes. The five thousand having assembled, accompanied by them, the three thousand infantry already with me, and eighty horse, I directed my march upon Chabolo, a village situate on the confines of Ptolemaïs; where I kept my forces together, feigning an intention of attacking Placidus, who had been detached by Cestius Gallus, with two cohorts of foot, and a troop of cavalry, to burn those villages of Galilee which lay contiguous to Ptolemaïs. Under the walls of that city, Placidus had entrenched himself, and, at about the distance of sixty furlongs from Chabolo, I formed my encampment. The two armies were now frequently drawn out in order of battle; but nothing more than skirmishes occurred, as Placidus, becoming alarmed in proportion as he saw me desirous of engaging, declined the combat. He still maintained his position, however, before Ptolemaïs.

XLIV. At this juncture Jonathan arrived in company with his fellow-legates: they as we have stated, having been sent from Jerusalem by the faction of Simon and Ananus, the high-priest. Afraid to offer me open violence, Jonathan had recourse to treachery in order to entrap me; and accordingly addressed to me the following letter:—"Jonathan and his colleagues, now on an embassy from Jerusalem, salute Josephus. The leading men in Jerusalem, having heard that John of Gischala has made various attempts upon your life, have commissioned us to rebuke him, and to admonish him to respect your authority for the future. Wishing, however, to consult with you on matters of public concernment, we request that you will repair to us with all despatch, and with but few attendants, as this village cannot admit a large military force."

2. This letter they wrote, expecting one of two things; either, that I should go unarmed, and thus be in their power, or that, coming with a numerous retinue, I should be adjudged a public enemy. The bearer of this epistle was a trooper, an insolent young fellow withal, who had formerly been in the king's service. It was already the second hour of the night, and I was seated at table with a party

of friends, and the nobles of Galilee. My servant having informed me that a Jewish horseman had arrived, I gave orders that he should be introduced; when, without even a salutation, he held out the letter, saying—"This, the deputies from Jerusalem have sent to you;" and adding, "Do you, therefore, write an immediate answer, as I am in haste to return to them."

3. My guests were surprised at the soldier's audacity. I invited him, however, to sit down, and join us at supper. On his declining to do so, still keeping the letter in my hand, as I had received it, I began to converse with those about me on other subjects; but not long after, I rose from table, and having dismissed my company to their repose, with the exception of four of my particular friends whom I directed to remain, I ordered my attendant to serve up wine. I then unfolded the letter, unobserved by any present, and having glanced my eye over its contents, and ascertained its purport, I closed it up again. Holding it in my hand, as if I had not yet perused it, I directed twenty drachmas to be given to the soldier for the expenses of his journey. When he had received the sum, and thanking me, I perceived his cupidity, and that, by this lure, I should be most likely to ensnare him; "but if," said I, "you are willing to drink with us, you shall have a drachma for every cup." He readily assented, and in order to augment his receipts, quaffed his wine so freely as to become intoxicated, and no longer able to retain the secret. He accordingly disclosed to us, unasked, the plot formed against me; and that I was doomed to death by his masters.

4. On learning these facts, I wrote in reply as follows:—"Josephus salutes Jonathan and his colleagues. It affords me pleasure to hear that you have reached Galilee in good health; more especially, as I can now resign the government of this province into your hands, and return home; which I have long wished to do. To wait on you not merely at Xaloth, but at a greater distance, would be my duty, even had you not required it. I must request your indulgence, however, for the present, as I am watching, at Chabolo, the motions of Placidus, who is menacing Galilee with an incursion. On receipt of this, therefore, do you proceed to join me. Farewell."

XLV. Having written this letter, and handed it to the soldier, I directed thirty Galilæans of the highest repute to accompany him, with injunctions to salute the deputies; but to say nothing more. To each of these, I further attached a trusty soldier, to keep an eye upon them, lest any intercourse should take place between them and the opposite party. The company then set out on their journey.

2. Jonathan and his associates having failed in their first attempt,

addressed a second letter to me, couched in these terms:—"Jonathan and his colleagues salute Josephus. We require you, in three days, to repair to us, without military escort, to the village of Gabaroth, that we may take cognizance of your charges against John."

3. Having written to this effect, and saluted the Galilæans, whom I had commissioned to wait on them, they repaired to Japha, which is the largest village of Galilee, very strongly fortified, and containing a dense population. There the multitude, accompanied by their wives and children, met them, and with loud outcries ordered them to depart, and not to envy them the services of their worthy general. Though highly irritated at this language, Jonathan and his colleagues dared not manifest their displeasure. Accordingly, without deigning reply, they removed to other villages. But, on all sides, the same clamours encountered them; the people loudly declaring that no persuasions should shake their determination to retain Josephus as their general. Thus foiled in their purpose, the deputies withdrew to Sepphoris, the largest city in Galilee. Here the inhabitants, who were favourably disposed towards the Romans, came out to meet them; but me they neither commended, nor censured. From Sepphoris they went down to Asochis, where they were received with uproar, similar to that with which they had been assailed at Japha. Unable longer to repress their choler, they ordered their escort to beat the rioters with cudgels. On their arrival at Gabara, they were joined by John at the head of three thousand men at arms.

4. As I had already been made aware, by the letter, of their intention to attack me, I broke up from Chabolo with a force, three thousand strong, leaving in the camp the most trusty of my friends; and as I was anxious to be near them, I removed to Jotapata, forty furlongs distant. From thence I wrote to them as follows; "If you are very desirous that I should come to you, there are two hundred and four cities and villages in Galilee, to any of which you may appoint I am ready to repair, Gabara and Gischala excepted; the one John's native place, the other united to him in confederacy and friendship."

XLVI. To this letter they returned no answer; but on receipt of it, they summoned a council of their adherents, at which John was present, to consult as to the measures to be pursued against me. John was of opinion that they should send circulars throughout Galilee, inasmuch as, in every city and village, one or two individuals at least would be found opposed to me; and that these should be called out as against an enemy. He further advised that

a copy of this resolution should be transmitted to Jerusalem, in order that the people, made aware of my having been declared an enemy by the Galilæans, might be induced to pass a similar decree; for, if this were once done, even those of the Galilæans who were well inclined towards me, would become alarmed, he said, and abandon me. These suggestions of John were very favourably received by the other members of the council.

2. About the third hour of the night, intelligence of these proceedings was brought to me by Sacchæus, a man of their party, who deserted, and informed me of their design. I was now sensible that not a moment was to be lost. Regarding James, one of my faithful soldiers, as a suitable person, I directed him to take two hundred men, and secure the avenues leading from Gabara into Galilee; and, arresting all travelling that way, to send them to me;—especially those caught with letters about them. I, moreover, detached Jeremiah, one of my friends, with six hundred soldiers to the frontier of Galilee, to watch the roads leading thence to Jerusalem, ordering him, likewise, to seize any who should be found journeying with despatches: the bearers he was to detain upon the spot in irons;—the documents he was to forward to me.

XLVII. Having issued these instructions, I sent the Galilæans directions to attend me the next morning at the village of Gabaroth, with their arms, and three days' provisions. Having divided the troops which I had with me into four sections, I formed the most trusty into a body guard, and gave the command of them to officers, whom I charged to take precautions that no strange soldier should hold communication with them.

2. About the fifth hour on the day following I arrived at Gabaroth, and found the entire plain, in front of the village, covered with armed men, who, agreeably to my orders, had come from Galilee to my aid; a large concourse accompanying them from the adjoining villages. When I stood up, and was beginning to speak, they greeted me with loud acclamations, hailing me with one voice as the benefactor and saviour of their country. Having expressed my gratitude, I advised them neither to assault any one, nor harass the country with rapine; but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be satisfied with their own provisions, as it was my wish to compose these disturbances without the effusion of blood.

3. It happened, on that very day, that those sent by Jonathan with despatches, fell into the hands of the party whom I had stationed to guard the roads; and they were detained, accordingly, on the spot, as I had directed. Finding the letters filled with

invectives and falsehoods, I determined, without communicating these facts to any one, to advance against the deputies.

XLVIII. Jonathan and his associates, hearing of my approach, retired with John, and all their immediate friends, to the house of Joshua, which was a spacious turreted building, differing in no respect from a citadel. Within this they had concealed a band of soldiers, and leaving one only of the gates open, they waited in expectation that, at the conclusion of my journey, I should come and salute them. Orders were likewise given to admit me only, excluding my attendants, in the hope that I should thus be easily secured. These expectations, however, proved fallacious; for having previously guessed their design, I withdrew, at the termination of my march, to a lodging directly opposite to them, and pretended to fall asleep. Jonathan and his party, not doubting but that I had retired to rest, and was actually asleep, hastened down to the plain, to prejudice the people against my conduct as their general.

2. Matters, however, turned out contrary to their anticipations; for scarcely had they made their appearance, when the Galilæans saluted them with clamours, loud in proportion to their affection for me, their leader; upbraiding the party of Jonathan with their unprovoked intrusion, and the disorder which they had introduced into the affairs of the province. They recommended them withal to depart the country, avowing their fixed determination never to receive any governor in my room. Informed of these occurrences, without losing a moment in showing myself among them, I repaired instantly to the plain, to hear what might be said by Jonathan and his party. My appearance was greeted with a general burst of applause; all extolling my conduct, and acknowledging the obligations they owed to my administration.

XLIX. Jonathan and his colleagues, on hearing these expressions, became alarmed for their lives, fearing lest the Galilæans, from affection for me, might offer them violence. They accordingly meditated a retreat; but being unable to effect their purpose, as I had required them to remain, they stood dejected, and paralyzed at the order. Having enjoined the multitude to abstain from all acclamations, and stationed the most trusty of my soldiers at the avenues, to protect us against any unexpected attack from John, and having further advised the Galilæans to be prepared with their arms, lest they should be thrown into confusion by some sudden rush of their enemies, I began by reminding Jonathan and his party of the letter, in which they stated that they had been commissioned by the

general council of Jerusalem to put an end to the contentions between John and me; and that they had entreated me to come to them. While relating these facts I held up the letter in view of all, in order that, convicted by their own hand-writing, no pretext for denial might be left them. I then proceeded as follows:—

2. “But Jonathan, and you, his fellow deputies—If, on being brought to trial in the matter of John, and called upon to render an account of my life, I had produced two or three witnesses, men of respectability and virtue, it is evident that you would have been constrained, after examining into their character, to acquit me of the charges preferred against me. That no doubt, however, may remain upon your minds as to the propriety of my deportment in Galilee, I consider three witnesses too small a number to attest the rectitude of my life. I therefore tender to you—all those present, in evidence! Inquire from them what has been my demeanour, and whether I have here administered affairs with all decorum and with all integrity. And I now adjure you, Galilæans, to conceal no part of the truth; but to declare before these men, as before judges in the cause, whether I have in any respect comported myself otherwise than well.”

L. While I was still speaking in this strain, the people with one voice proclaimed me their benefactor and deliverer, bearing testimony to my past conduct, and exhorting me to pursue the same path in future. They, moreover, all solemnly affirmed that their wives had been preserved from insult, and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. I then read to the Galilæans two of the letters despatched by Jonathan and his colleagues, which had been intercepted, and forwarded to me by the guards I had placed upon the roads, filled with invectives, and falsely representing me as a tyrant, rather than a general. In addition to these, had been introduced a variety of other topics, no species of shameless fabrication being omitted.

2. These letters, I stated to the populace, had been voluntarily delivered to me by the bearers; for I did not wish my adversaries to know respecting the guards, lest, apprehensive of the consequences, they should desist from writing.

LI. The Galilæans, on hearing these statements, became so exceedingly exasperated against Jonathan and his associates, that they meditated a deadly attack upon them; and would have effected their purpose, had I not repressed their resentment, observing to Jonathan and his colleagues, that I would pardon them for what was past, provided they would express contrition; and, on their return home, faithfully

acquaint those, who had sent them, with the character of my administration. With this rebuke I allowed them to depart; though well assured that they would pay no regard to their promises. The people, however, still burning with anger against them, entreated my permission to punish those who had dared to do such things. But I did my utmost to prevail on them to spare their lives; sensible that sedition of any kind cannot but be prejudicial to a state. The rage of the multitude, notwithstanding, remaining unabated, they rushed in a body towards the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues had taken up their residence. Perceiving that it would be impossible to restrain their impetuosity, I sprang upon my horse, and ordered them to follow me to the village of Sogana, twenty furlongs distant from Gabara. This artifice succeeded: and I thus avoided the imputation of commencing a civil war.

LII. On approaching Sogana, I stopped the crowd, and admonished them not to allow themselves to be so easily hurried into anger, and the infliction of injuries never to be remedied. I then directed that a hundred of their leading men, already advanced in years, should prepare for a journey to Jerusalem, there to lay a complaint before the people against those who were disturbing the country. I instructed them, should their statements make a favourable impression, to advise that orders might be forwarded to me from the general council, for my continuance in Galilee; and that Jonathan and his colleagues should be commanded to withdraw.

2. Having delivered these instructions to them, and their preparations being quickly completed, upon the third day after the meeting, I dismissed them on their mission, attended by five hundred men at arms. I wrote, moreover, to my friends in Samaria, to take care that they passed in safety through that district—Samaria being then in the occupation of the Romans; and it was necessary for those who would travel with celerity, to take that route, as by it Jerusalem may be reached in three days from Galilee. I accompanied the deputies in person as far as the frontiers of Galilee, having stationed guards on the roads to prevent, if possible, any knowledge of their journey from transpiring. Having concluded these arrangements, I took up my abode at Japha.

LIII. Jonathan and his associates having failed in their designs against me, directed John to return to Gischala; they themselves going forward to Tiberias, in expectation of receiving the submission of that city, as Joshua, at that time chief magistrate of the town, had written to them, pledging himself to prevail upon the inhabitants to admit them, on their arrival, and to join their party.

Buoyed up with these hopes, they had accordingly set out. Of these particulars I was certified by a letter from Silas, whom, as I have stated, I had left superintendent of Tiberias; and who urged me to make no delay. In compliance with his request I instantly repaired thither; but incurred extreme danger in consequence, as I shall here relate.

2. Jonathan and his colleagues having, while at Tiberias, induced many who were already inimical to desert me, began, on hearing of my arrival, to entertain apprehensions for their safety. They therefore waited upon me, and saluting me, remarked that I was happy in having so well administered affairs in Galilee; and congratulated me upon the honours conferred on me, observing that my glory reflected credit on themselves, as I was their fellow-citizen, and had been a pupil in their schools. They added, that it was but just that they should esteem my friendship more highly than that of John; and that they would at once have returned home, had they not remained in order to deliver him into my hands. This statement they confirmed by such oaths as are regarded amongst us with the deepest awe; and I therefore did not think myself justified in disbelieving them. They requested me, notwithstanding, to take up my quarters elsewhere, as the next day would be the Sabbath, when, as they remarked, it would be improper that the city should be disturbed by a crowd, through their means.

LIV. Entertaining no suspicions, I departed for Tarichæa, leaving some in the town, however, carefully to observe whether any thing were said respecting us. I moreover disposed a number of persons along the whole line of road from Tarichæa to Tiberias, who were to signify to me, through one another, whatever they should hear from those left in the town. The next day a general assembly took place in the Proseucha—a spacious edifice, capable of containing a large body of people. Thither Jonathan repaired, and, though he did not venture to speak openly of revolt, he remarked that their city required a more able governor. Joshua, the chief magistrate, however, without dissimulation, said openly—“It would be better, citizens, to be governed by four men, rather than by one; and those distinguished by birth, as well as celebrated for wisdom”—alluding to Jonathan and his colleagues.

2. As he spoke, Justus came forward, and having expressed his approval of these observations, several of the people were induced to concur with him. The great mass, notwithstanding, were far from assenting to the proposal; and a riot would inevitably have ensued, had not the arrival of the sixth hour, at which it is customary

for us to dine on the Sabbath, dissolved the assembly. Jonathan and his associates, having accordingly adjourned the meeting to the following day, retired without accomplishing their object.

3. Intelligence of these proceedings having been immediately conveyed to me, I determined to set out early for Tiberias, which I reached next day, about the first hour, and found the people already collected in the Proseucha, though they knew not for what purpose they had been convened. My unexpected appearance not a little disconcerted Jonathan and his party; but it occurred to them on the instant to circulate a report that a body of Roman cavalry had been seen upon the frontier, at the distance of thirty furlongs from the city, at a place called Homonœa. On these tidings being announced, Jonathan and his associates, insidiously admonished me not to remain an inactive spectator of the spoliation of their territory. Their object in this was to remove me from the spot, under pretext of an urgent call for aid; hoping to excite hostility against me in the town.

LV. Though well aware of their motives, I thought it better to comply, lest I should seem to the Tiberians inattentive to their safety. I repaired accordingly to the place; but, discovering no vestiges of an enemy, I retraced my steps with all celerity, and found the whole council assembled, as well as the mass of the people, and Jonathan and his party inveighing vehemently against me, as one who, giving himself little concern to alleviate the pressure of the war, passed his life in luxury. In the midst of this harangue they produced four letters, as if addressed to them by those on the frontiers of Galilee, imploring them to come to their assistance, as a Roman force, both cavalry and infantry, would arrive in the course of three days, and ravage the country. They besought them, in conclusion, not to disregard their danger, but to hasten to their relief.

2. On these letters being read, the people of Tiberias, crediting the statement, with loud clamour condemned my supineness, declaring that I ought to proceed to the succour of their countrymen. Sensible of the design of Jonathan and his party, I replied, that I was ready to obey their instructions, and promised to march without delay to the seat of war; but at the same time I offered my advice, that, as the letters stated that the Romans would direct their attacks on four points, they should form their troops into five divisions, and assign the command of them respectively to Jonathan and his colleagues; since it became brave men, not merely to counsel, but lead to the rescue, on urgent occasions; as I should be unable, I said, to conduct more than a single detachment. Pleased in the highest degree with this

suggestion, the people compelled them, also, to take the field. Their plans being frustrated by this counter-stratagem, Jonathan and his associates, foiled in their purpose, were not a little disconcerted.

LVI. There was, however, among their party, one named Ananias, a man depraved alike in principle and practice, and by him it was proposed to the multitude that a general fast to God should be appointed for the ensuing day; and he ordered them to assemble at the same hour, and in the same place, without arms, that they might testify to God their conviction, that, unless He afforded them his succour, no weapons could avail them. This he said, not from motives of piety, but that he might surprise me and my friends, unarmed. I was nevertheless constrained to accede, lest I should be suspected of harbouring contempt for a pious suggestion.

2. As soon, therefore, as we had retired to our respective homes, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John, directing him to repair to them in the morning, with as large a force as he could muster; a favourable opportunity now presenting itself for securing my person, and accomplishing all that he desired. Upon receipt of the letter, John prepared to comply with its injunctions. On the day following, I commanded two of my life-guards, of the most approved courage, and of unshaken fidelity, to attend me, with daggers concealed under their garments, as a protection in case of any attack from our opponents; and taking a breast-plate, myself, and girding on my sword, so that it was quite invisible, I repaired to the Proseucha.

LVII. Joshua, the chief magistrate, had issued orders for the exclusion of the whole of my attendants; and as he had posted himself at the door, myself and my immediate friends were alone admitted. We were already entering on the stated observances, and had commenced the prayers, when Joshua rose and inquired from me with whom the valuables and unstamped silver, which had been rescued from the flames at the conflagration of the royal palace, had been deposited. This he said merely with the view of passing away the time until the arrival of John.

2. I answered, that they were all in care of Capellus, and of the ten leading men of Tiberias, to whom I referred him for the truth of my statement. These acknowledging that the articles were in their custody; "but," said he, "the twenty pieces of gold, which you obtained from the sale of a certain quantity of bullion, what has become of them?" These, I informed him, I had given as travelling expenses to the deputies who had been sent to Jerusalem; on which Jonathan and his party observed, that

I had acted improperly in paying the deputies out of the public treasury. The populace, who were now sensible of the wickedness of the men, became irritated at these remarks; and, as I foresaw that a riot would ensue, and wished still further to excite the crowd against them, I said, that even if I had committed an error in paying their deputies out of the general stock, they might dismiss resentment, as I should myself replace the twenty pieces of gold.

LVIII. This reply reduced Jonathan and his party to silence. The people, however, were still more exasperated against them, by this open manifestation of causeless malevolence. Joshua, perceiving this change in their feelings, commanded the crowd to withdraw; but required the council to remain, as it was impossible to examine into such matters in the midst of tumult. While the people were crying out that they would not leave me alone with them, a messenger arrived, and whispered to Joshua and his party, that John was close at hand with his troops. Jonathan and his colleagues, no longer restraining themselves—the providential care of God being, perhaps, exerted for my preservation; for had it not so occurred, I should beyond doubt have been murdered by John—exclaimed, “A truce, Tiberians, to these inquiries, about twenty pieces of gold. It is not on account of them that Josephus deserves to die; but for aspiring at despotic power, and for the ascendancy he has obtained over the people of Galilee by his wily harangues.”

2. As they uttered these words, they seized, and attempted to destroy me; on which my friends, drawing their swords, threatened to cut them down, if they offered me any violence: the people, at the same time, snatching up stones, and rushing forward to cast them at Jonathan. Thus was I rescued from this assault of my enemies.

LIX. I had not proceeded more than a few paces from the spot, when I was on the point of meeting John, advancing with his soldiers. Alarmed, I turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, where I seized a boat, and embarking, passed over to Tarichæa, having, beyond expectation, escaped this danger. Thither I summoned, without delay, the leading Galilæans, and laid before them the manner in which, contrary to every pledge I had received from Jonathan, his colleagues, and the Tiberians, I had so nearly become their victim. Enraged at this, the Galilæans called on me no longer to defer levying war against them, but to permit them to march against John, and utterly exterminate him, with Jonathan and his associates. I succeeded, however, in restraining

them, though so highly exasperated; directing them to suspend their resentment until we should learn what instructions the deputies, whom they had sent to Jerusalem, should bring from thence; as it would be well to adopt the proper measures with their concurrence. By these suggestions I prevailed with them. John, thus foiled in his machinations, soon after retraced his steps to Gischala.

LX. Not many days afterwards our deputies returned, and informed us that the people were exceedingly incensed against Ananus and Simon, the son of Gamaliel, and their associates, for having, without warrant of the general council, despatched emissaries to Galilee in order to banish me from thence, adding that the populace had made an attempt to burn their houses. They moreover brought documents, by which the leading men of Jerusalem, at the earnest entreaty of the people, confirmed me in the administration of Galilee; Jonathan and his colleagues being, by the same, ordered home immediately.

2. On receipt of these letters, I repaired to the village of Arbela; where, having convened a meeting of the Galilæans, I directed the deputies to inform them with what indignation and abhorrence the people of Jerusalem viewed the conduct of Jonathan and his colleagues;—of their having ratified my appointment to the government of their country; and of the despatches addressed to my opponents relative to their departure. These I transmitted to the latter without delay, giving orders to the messenger to ascertain, as far as possible, how they intended to act.

LXI. Thrown into the utmost consternation by the contents of these documents, they summoned John and the councillors of Tiberias, together with the leading men of Gabara, to meet and deliberate on the measures it might be most advisable to adopt. The Tiberians were of opinion, that they should by all means retain possession of the government; observing that it would be unbecoming to desert their city, which was so entirely devoted to them; particularly as an attack from me was to be apprehended;—for this falsehood they asserted, as if founded on a threat of mine.

2. John not only concurred in these views, but further advised, that two of their body should proceed to Jerusalem, to accuse me before the people of malpractices in the execution of my office in Galilee; adding, that their exalted station, and the general fickleness of the multitude, would greatly facilitate the attainment of their object. This suggestion being adopted, as best suited to the circumstances, it was resolved that two of their number, Jonathan

and Ananias, should set out for Jerusalem, the other two remaining at Tiberias. They accordingly departed, attended by an escort of a hundred men.

LXII. The Tiberians now took measures for strengthening their fortifications, and issued orders to the inhabitants to arm themselves. They also required from John, who was then at Gischala, a large force, to assist them against me, should occasion demand. Meanwhile, Jonathan and his company, having left Tiberias, had reached Dabaritta, a village situate in the skirts of Galilee, and lying in the Great Plain; when, about midnight, they fell in with my guards. They were commanded to throw down their weapons, and were detained on the spot in irons, agreeably to my instructions. This intelligence was communicated to me in writing by Levi, to whom I had confided that post. Having allowed two days to elapse without giving any reason to suspect that I was acquainted with the occurrence, I sent to the Tiberians, advising them to lay down their arms, and dismiss the deputies to their homes.

2. Not doubting that Jonathan and his party had already arrived in Jerusalem, they returned me a contumelious answer. By no means disconcerted, I devised a stratagem to counteract their designs; for I deemed it an impiety to engage in hostilities against my fellow-citizens. Anxious to draw them apart from the townspeople, I selected ten thousand of the flower of my army, and, forming them into three divisions, directed them to repair covertly to the villages, and there remain in ambush. In addition to this, I stationed a thousand men in another village, which, like the rest, was situated among the mountains, and four furlongs distant from Tiberias, with orders, on seeing my signal, to come down with all despatch. I then took up a position in front of the village, where I was exposed to view. Observing this, the Tiberians were continually running out, and loading me with abuse. Nay, to such an extreme of folly did they proceed, that they prepared a suitable bier, duly laid out, and disposing themselves around it, bewailed me, amidst jests and laughter. And, indeed, I was myself much amused at witnessing this piece of absurdity.

LXIII. Desirous of getting Simon and Joazar into my power, by stratagem, I sent them a message, requesting them to advance to some little distance from the city, attended by a numerous body of friends, and others, for their protection, and stating that I had come down with the design of entering into a compact with them, and dividing the government of Galilee. Simon, accordingly, through imprudence, and lured by the hope of gain, came without delay:—

Joazar, suspecting some artifice, held back. Simon I met as he was ascending with the friends who formed his guard, and, saluting him amicably, thanked him for coming. But not long after, as I was walking beside him, and, under pretence of speaking to him in private, had drawn him to a considerable distance from his escort, I seized him round the waist, and delivered him to the friends I had with me, to be conducted to the village. I then ordered my forces to join me, and led them to the assault of Tiberias.

2. The contest was hotly maintained on both sides, and the Tiberians were on the point of defeating me, as our soldiers had fled; when, perceiving the danger, I cheered on those who remained with me, and drove the Tiberians, already on the point of victory, into the town. I had in the mean time directed another division to proceed by the lake, with instructions to set fire to the first house of which they might possess themselves. This being done, the Tiberians, thinking that the place had been carried by storm, threw down their arms in terror, and, with wives and children, implored me to spare their city. Moved by their entreaties, I restrained the impetuosity of the soldiers; and, as evening was advancing, drew off my troops from the assault, and retired to take some refreshment. Having invited Simon to join me at the table, I consoled him under his misfortune, and promised him a safe escort to Jerusalem, with a supply of every necessary for the journey.

LXIV. Next day, at the head of ten thousand men, I repaired to Tiberias; and having commanded the attendance of the principal citizens in the stadium, I insisted on their telling who were the authors of the revolt. The individuals being pointed out, I ordered them in fetters to Jotapata. Jonathan, Ananias, and their party, I liberated; and, having provided them for the journey, sent them forward, with Simon and Joazar, and an escort of five hundred soldiers, to Jerusalem.

2. I was now waited on a second time by the Tiberians, who implored my forgiveness for what had occurred, promising to atone for past misconduct by future fidelity. They prayed me, at the same time, to preserve what still remained of the plunder for the rightful owners; and I accordingly directed those in whose possession it was, to bring forth the whole. As they were dilatory, however, in obeying my orders, and seeing a soldier beside me wearing a garment more sumptuous than ordinary, I inquired whence he obtained it; and on his replying—"from the pillage of the town," I punished him with the lash, and threatened his comrades with still heavier chastisement, unless they forthwith produced their spoils.

A great variety of articles being thus collected, I restored to each citizen what he identified as his own.

LXV. Having reached this point in my narrative, I would address a few words to Justus, who has himself drawn up an account of these transactions; and, with him, to others, who, though professing to write history, pay little regard to veracity; and, either from enmity or partiality, are not ashamed of falsehood. Such men resemble in their proceedings the forgers of deeds of contract; and, not having a like punishment to fear, hold truth in contempt. Accordingly, Justus, having undertaken to compile a narrative of our achievements, and of the events of the war, to make a show of diligence, not only belied me, but did not even speak truth of his country. Wherefore, being under the necessity of justifying myself, maligned as I have been, I shall refer to matters on which I have hitherto preserved silence.

2. Nor should it excite surprise, that I have not, at an earlier date, brought forward these particulars. For though it be incumbent on the writer of history to adhere to truth, yet is he not called upon to animadvert with severity on every one's misconduct: his forbearance arising from no partiality for the offender, but from his own moderation.

3. How then, Justus:—that I may address him as present—How, most able of historians—for such is the title you arrogate—could the insurrection in which your native city engaged against the Romans, and against the king, originate with me and the Galilæans; when, prior to my receiving the appointment of Governor of Galilee from the general council of Jerusalem, you, and the whole population of Tiberias, had not only taken up arms, but had even attacked the towns of the Syrian Decapolis? You had burned their villages, and one of your domestics had fallen in the encounter. Nor am I solitary in this assertion; for the Commentaries of the emperor Vespasian also attest the fact, and prove also how urgently the inhabitants of the Decapolis importuned Vespasian, when at Ptolemais, to punish you as the author of their misfortunes. And to punishment you would have been brought by his command, had not king Agrippa, who had received authority to order you to execution, commuted your sentence from death to a prolonged imprisonment, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Bernice. Your political conduct in the sequel, moreover, clearly exhibits your general character, and shows that to you was attributable the revolt of your native city from the Romans. The proofs of these facts I shall adduce presently.

4. But I would address a few words to the other inhabitants of Tiberias, through you, in order to furnish evidence to those into whose hands this history may fall, that you were friendly neither to

the Romans, nor to the king. Of the towns of Galilee, the most important are—Tiberias, the place of your nativity, Justus, and Sepphoris. The latter, however, lying in the very centre of Galilee, possessing many villages around, and capable of making a bold stand against the Romans, had it been so inclined, nevertheless resolved to continue faithful to its masters; and I was therefore excluded from its walls, and the inhabitants were strictly prohibited from aiding the Jews in the contest. That they might moreover secure themselves against us, they induced me, by false pretences, to fortify the town. They likewise voluntarily admitted a garrison, sent to them by Cestius Gallus, then in command of the Roman legions in Syria; thus treating me with contempt, potent as I was at that period, and to all an object of apprehension. Further, when Jerusalem, our capital, was besieged, and our common temple in danger of falling into the power of the enemy, they sent no assistance; not wishing to afford ground for suspicion that they had taken up arms against the Romans.

5. But as to your native city, Justus, situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty, and from Scythopolis, which was under the royal jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty, and without one Jewish town in its vicinity, it might easily, had it been so disposed, have maintained its allegiance to the Romans, the city being fortified, and its inhabitants amply provided with arms. But, admitting that I was, as you contend, the author of the revolt which then occurred;—who urged it forward, in the sequel, Justus? For you are well aware that I was taken prisoner by the Romans, prior to the siege of Jerusalem; that Jotapata, with many other fortresses, had been carried by assault; and that vast numbers of the Galilæans had fallen in the struggle.

6. That, then, was the proper season, when you were certainly under no apprehension from me, to throw down your arms, and evince, to the king and to the Romans, that, not from choice, but necessity, you had engaged in the war against them. You waited, however, until Vespasian, with his whole army, had arrived under your walls, and then, through fear, were your weapons laid down. Your city, on that occasion, would undoubtedly have been taken by storm, had not Vespasian, at the king's anxious intercession, excused your folly. The fault therefore lay not with me, but in your own passion for war. Do you not remember how often I had you and your party in my power, while not one of you suffered death? Yet in a private quarrel among yourselves, which occurred when I was besieged in

Jotapata by the Romans, and which originated, not in any friendly feeling either for the king or for the Romans, but in your own wickedness, you slew a hundred and eighty-five of the citizens. Moreover, were there not two thousand Tiberians reckoned up at the siege of Jerusalem, some of whom were killed, and others taken prisoners?

7. You will allege, however, that you were not inclined to war, as was evident from your seeking refuge with the king at a certain period:—a course which, I assert, you adopted through the dread of me. But, according to your account, it is I who am the villain! Wherefore was it then that King Agrippa, who, when you were condemned to die by Vespasian, had granted you a pardon, and loaded you with favours, subsequently threw you twice into irons, and as often commanded you to fly the country? And farther, when he had once ordered you to execution, were you not spared at the earnest solicitation of his sister, Bernice? And when, after such complicated villany, you had been appointed his private secretary, did he not detect you in unfaithfulness to your trust, and drive you from his sight? But I shall not scrutinize too minutely these transactions.

8. I cannot but wonder, however, at your effrontery, in daring to affirm that, of all who have written on this subject, you have given the most faithful narrative, although totally unacquainted with what occurred in Galilee—for you were then at Berytus with the king—and equally ignorant how much the Romans suffered themselves, or inflicted on us, at the siege of Jotapata; nor could you ascertain how I conducted myself on the occasion, inasmuch as all, who might have afforded you the information, perished in that struggle. You will perhaps assert, however, that you have related with accuracy the events which took place at Jerusalem. And how is that possible, when you were neither engaged in the war, nor yet had perused the Commentaries of Cæsar, as is abundantly testified by the contradictions you have given them?

9. But if you are confident that you have composed a better narrative than all beside, why did you not publish your history while Vespasian and Titus, who commanded in that war, as well as King Agrippa and his entire family, men intimately conversant with Grecian literature, were still alive? You had prepared it twenty years before; and you might then have received, from those acquainted with the facts, due testimony to your accuracy. But now, when these personages have been removed from amongst us, and you think you cannot be convicted, you venture to lay it before the world. I, however,

entertained no such apprehensions respecting my narrative ; but presented my books to the emperors themselves, when the events were almost under the eyes of men ; for I felt conscious that I had throughout adhered to truth. To this I expected their attestation, and was not disappointed. To many others, also, I immediately delivered my history ; some of whom had taken an active part in the war : among them—King Agrippa, and several of his relatives. So desirous, indeed, was the Emperor Titus that the knowledge of these occurrences should be derived solely from my volumes, that he affixed his own signature to them, and gave directions for their publication. King Agrippa, moreover, addressed sixty-two letters to me, recording his testimony to the authenticity of my narrative. Two of these I shall now subjoin, that from them you may learn, if so disposed, the tenor of his communications.

10. “ King Agrippa salutes his very dear friend Josephus.—I have perused your book with the utmost pleasure. You seem to me to have composed with much greater care and accuracy than any who have written upon the subject. Send me the remainder of the work. Farewell, my very dear friend.”

11. “ King Agrippa salutes his very dear friend Josephus.—From what you have written, you do not appear to require any instruction, necessary to our acquaintance with the whole train of events from the commencement. When we meet, however, I shall inform you as to many of those particulars of which you profess to be ignorant.”

12. It was thus that, on the completion of my history, Agrippa—not in flattery, which ill accorded with his disposition : nor yet, as you will allege, in irony, for he was a total stranger to so unworthy a feeling ; but, as all have done into whose hands that history has fallen—bore testimony to its truth.

13. But of Justus, who compelled me to institute this comparison, let what has been said suffice.

LXVI. When I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, I formed a council of my friends, to deliberate on the best manner of proceeding against John. It was the unanimous opinion of the Galilæans that I should arm them to a man, and march against him, to inflict punishment upon him, as the author of all these disturbances. This proposal, however, did not accord with my own views ; as I preferred composing these troubles without bloodshed. I, therefore, admonished them to use every diligence to ascertain the names of those attached to John's faction. This done, and when I had learned who were in his interest, I issued a proclamation tendering security and friendship to such of John's adherents as should adopt a better line of conduct ; and

to those who wished to deliberate on what might be conducive to their welfare, I allowed an interval of twenty days; but threatened, unless they laid down their arms, to reduce their houses to ashes, and confiscate their property. When they heard this, the utmost consternation diffused itself amongst them—they deserted John—threw down their weapons—and joined me, to the number of four thousand. His own citizens, and about fifteen hundred foreigners from the metropolis of the Tyrians, now constituted John's sole support. Finding himself thus out-manceuvred by me, he became alarmed, and thenceforward confined himself to his own territory.

LXVII. About this time the Sepphorites, confiding in the strength of their walls, and in my attention being diverted toward other objects, resumed courage, and took up arms. They accordingly sent to Cestius Gallus, then president of Syria, requesting him either to come without delay, and receive their city under his protection, or to provide them with a garrison. Gallus replied, that they might expect him; but did not specify the time. On being informed of this, I marched with what troops I had with me against Sepphoris, attacked, and carried it by assault. The Galilæans, availing themselves of so favourable an opportunity for wreaking their vengeance on a city which they regarded with abhorrence, rushed on, with the intention of consigning all within its walls, natives and strangers, to utter destruction. Accordingly, hurrying into the town, they set fire to the houses, which they found deserted; the people, in alarm, having fled in a body to the citadel. They made prey of every thing; leaving no means of devastation unemployed against their countrymen.

2. On witnessing these scenes I was exceedingly affected, and ordered them to desist; reminding them that it was impious thus to treat those allied to us by blood. As they listened, however, neither to my entreaties nor to my commands—for exhortations presented but a feeble barrier to their hatred—I directed those of my friends who were about me, on whose fidelity I most relied, to circulate a report that the Romans had attacked the city in another quarter, with a formidable force. This I did, in order, by such a rumour, to restrain the impetuosity of the Galilæans, and rescue Sepphoris: and the artifice eventually succeeded; for on these tidings reaching them, trembling for themselves, they abandoned their plunder and fled: particularly when they saw me, their general, setting them the example. For, that I might attach the greater credit to the report, I pretended to participate in their alarm. Thus were the Sepphorites,



W. H. H. H.

SEPPHORIS.



beyond their hope, preserved by this device of mine from destruction.

LXVIII. Tiberias, likewise, had a narrow escape of being pillaged by the Galilæans. The occasion was as follows. The leading councillors had communicated with the king, inviting him to come and receive the submission of their city. The king promised to do so, and wrote a letter in reply, which he handed to an officer of his bedchamber, by name Crispus, but of Jewish parentage, to convey to Tiberias. The Galilæans, having recognised the bearer of this letter, seized, and brought him to me. On hearing of the circumstance, the whole populace became greatly excited, and flew to arms. On the day following multitudes flocked together from all quarters, to the town of Asochis, where I resided at the time, loudly exclaiming against the Tiberians, whom they accused as traitors to the common cause, and as friendly to the king; and demanded permission to attack their city, and raze it to its foundations. For, against the Tiberians they were not less embittered than against the Sepphorites.

LXIX. Perplexed by this clamour, I was in doubt by what means I should rescue Tiberias from the rage of the Galilæans. For, that the Tiberians had written to the king, inviting him over, was attested by his letter in answer to theirs: this fact I was therefore unable to controvert. Having remained for a considerable time in silent reflection, I addressed them as follows:—"That the Tiberians have acted unjustly, I also am well aware; nor shall I forbid you to pillage the town. Nevertheless such measures should be conducted with discretion; for not alone have the Tiberians been betrayers of our liberties; but many likewise of the most eminent of the Galilæans. Wait therefore till I shall have discovered the guilty; and they shall then all be delivered into your hands, together with those whom you may yourselves be able to produce." With these words I pacified the multitude, and, their anger having subsided, they dispersed. Having ordered the king's messenger to be put in irons, I pretended, a few days after, that I was obliged by some matters of importance to myself, to leave the kingdom; and sending privately for Crispus, I directed him to make the soldier who guarded him drunk, and flee to the king. Thus was Tiberias, when a second time on the verge of utter destruction, delivered, by my address and forethought, from a danger so imminent.

LXX. At this juncture Justus, the son of Pistus, withdrew, without my knowledge, to the king. The reasons which induced him to take this step, I shall relate. On the breaking out of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the Tiberians came to the deter-

mination of maintaining their fidelity to the latter, and of adhering to the king. Justus, notwithstanding, endeavoured to prevail on them to rise in arms; himself anxious for innovation, and led by the hope of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as that of his own country. In these expectations, however, he was disappointed; for the Galilæans, at enmity with the Tiberians, and enraged on account of the miseries which Justus had inflicted on them prior to war, would not endure him as their leader. And I was myself, moreover, when entrusted by the general council of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, frequently so incensed, that, unable to tolerate his villany, I was on the point of ordering him to execution. Accordingly, under the influence of his fears, and lest my indignation should at length take its course, he sought refuge with the king, in the hope of enjoying, with him, greater comfort and security.

LXXI. The Sepphorites, having so unexpectedly escaped this first danger, despatched a messenger to Cestius Gallus, requesting him either to come immediately and take possession of their city; or to send them a body of troops sufficient to repress the incursions of the enemy. They at length prevailed on him to detach a second force of considerable strength, both cavalry and infantry, to their relief; which, on its arrival, was admitted under favour of night. The country around being harassed by the Roman army, I proceeded with what soldiers I had at hand to Garisime, where, having formed an intrenchment, at the distance of twenty furlongs from Sepphoris, I advanced by night against it, and assailing the walls, threw in a large force by means of scaling ladders, and thus became master of the greater part of the town. Our ignorance of the place, however, compelled us in a short time to retire. In this action we killed twelve of the Roman foot, two of their horse, and a few Sepphorites, with the loss to ourselves of only one man. But having afterwards encountered the cavalry in the plain, we were defeated, notwithstanding a long and gallant resistance; for my troops, on being surrounded by the Romans, became alarmed and fled. There fell in this engagement one of my body guard, by name Justus, who had formerly held a similar situation under the king.

2. At this period Sylla, commander of the body guards, arrived with a reinforcement of horse and foot from the king. Having pitched his camp at the distance of five furlongs from Julias, he stationed parties on the roads, as well that leading to Cana, as that which conducted to the fortress of Gamala, in order to prevent the inhabitants receiving supplies from Galilee.

LXXII. When intelligence of this was brought to me, I detached two thousand men, under the command of Jeremiah, who having thrown up an intrenchment at the interval of a furlong from Julias, near the river Jordan, merely skirmished with the enemy, until I joined them with a reinforcement, three thousand strong. Next day, having placed a body of troops in ambush, in a ravine not far from their intrenchment, I offered battle to the royal army; directing my soldiers to retire until they had enticed the enemy to advance. This feint succeeded. Sylla, supposing that our party were really in retreat, proceeded rapidly in pursuit, when those in the ambuscade, taking him in his rear, threw his entire force into the utmost disorder. Wheeling about suddenly, I made a general charge upon the royal army, and put it to flight; and complete success would, on that day, have crowned this manœuvre, had not an untoward accident interfered. The horse which I rode during the action, fell into a quagmire, and brought me with him to the ground. My wrist joint being dislocated, I was carried to a village called Cepharnome. My soldiers hearing of this, and apprehensive that I had sustained some more serious injury, desisted from further pursuit, and returned in the deepest anxiety on my account. I sent for the physicians, and the proper remedies were applied; but as I had an access of fever, I remained there that day, and, by direction of my medical attendants, was removed at night to Tarichæa.

LXXIII. Sylla and his comrades, on hearing of my accident, resumed courage; and, aware that the watch was carelessly set in our camp, they stationed, under cover of night, a body of cavalry in ambuscade beyond the Jordan, and at daybreak offered us battle. Not declining the challenge, my troops descended into the plain, when their horsemen appeared from the ambush, and throwing them into confusion, put them to flight. Six of our men fell on this occasion. The enemy, however, did not follow up their advantage; for, having learned that a reinforcement, destined for Julias, had sailed from Tarichæa, they became alarmed and retired.

LXXIV. Soon after these transactions, Vespasian, accompanied by King Agrippa, arrived in Tyre. Here the king was received with invectives, and denounced as alike hostile to the Tyrians, and to the Romans; for it was alleged that Philip, his camp-prefect, had betrayed the royal palace and the Roman forces in Jerusalem, by his command. Vespasian, hearing this, reprimanded the Tyrians for thus insulting a man, at once a sovereign prince, and a friend to the Romans: he, nevertheless, advised the king to send Philip to Rome to justify his conduct before Nero. Thither Philip accordingly

proceeded; but being unable to obtain an audience, as Nero was overwhelmed with difficulties by the disturbances which arose at that period, and by the civil war, he returned to the king.

2. Vespasian, on his arrival at Ptolemaïs, was waited upon by the leading men of the Syrian Decapolis, who preferred urgent complaints against Justus of Tiberias, for having burned their villages. Vespasian in consequence delivered him to the king, to be punished by the royal tributaries. The king, however, merely committed him to prison, concealing this from Vespasian, as I have already related. The Sepphorites having met, and saluted Vespasian, received a garrison, under the command of Placidus. With this force they took the field; their motions being closely watched by me, until Vespasian's arrival in Galilee. Of that arrival, and of the events therewith connected, as of the particulars of his first engagement with me in the neighbourhood of the village of Tarichæa; of the movement of his army from thence to Jotapata, and of my conduct during the siege of that place; under what circumstances I was taken prisoner, and thrown into irons, with my subsequent liberation; of my deportment throughout the whole campaign, and at the siege of Jerusalem, I have given an accurate detail in my books on the Jewish war. It may, however, I conceive, be necessary now to subjoin such particulars of my life as were not introduced into that narrative.

LXXV. After the siege of Jotapata, being then in the power of the Romans, I was guarded with the strictest care, many honours being in the mean time conferred on me by Vespasian; at whose command I married a virgin, one of those who had been captured at Cæsarea, and a native of that place. We did not, however, live long together; as, on my regaining my liberty, and accompanying Vespasian to Alexandria, she separated from me. In that city I contracted a second marriage. Being sent thence with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem, I was frequently in danger of my life, as well from the Jews, who laboured to get me into their power, to gratify their revenge; as from the Romans, who attributed every disaster that befel them to some act of perfidy on my part, and ceased not to demand of the emperor, with loud importunities, that I should be punished as a traitor to them.

2. Titus Cæsar, however, not ignorant of the chances of war, repressed, by his silence, these angry ebullitions of the soldiery. Moreover, when Jerusalem was on the point of being carried by assault, he frequently endeavoured to prevail on me to possess myself of whatever I wished from the wreck of my country, stating that

I had his permission. But when that the city of my Fathers had fallen, having nothing more precious which I could take and preserve as a solace of my calamities, than the free persons of my countrymen, I made request to Titus on their behalf; and through his gracious indulgence, I received also the sacred books. Not long after, I petitioned him in favour of my brother likewise, and fifty of my friends; and my suit was not denied. And having, by his leave, visited the temple, where a vast crowd of captives, women and children, were confined, I liberated as many of my friends and acquaintances as I discovered, to the number of about a hundred and ninety; and these I discharged without ransom, paying that compliment to their former fortune.

3. Having been sent by Titus Cæsar, with Cerealius and a thousand horse, to a village called Thecoa, to ascertain whether the situation was suitable for a palisaded encampment, when returning thence, I saw a number of captives suffering crucifixion: and recognising three of them as my acquaintances, I was pierced to the heart; and, waiting on Titus, mentioned the circumstance to him with tears. He gave immediate orders that they should be taken down, and every exertion used for their restoration. Two of them, however, expired in the hands of the physicians: the third survived.

LXXVI. Titus, when he had composed the troubles in Judæa, conjecturing that the lands which I possessed in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem would be unproductive to me, as a Roman garrison was to be stationed there, presented me with another tract of land in a plain. Moreover, when about to embark for Italy, he admitted me as the companion of his voyage, treating me with every mark of respect. On our arrival in Rome, I met with much attention from Vespasian, who provided me with apartments in the house which he occupied previous to his elevation to the throne—honoured me still further with the privileges of a Roman citizen—and assigned me a pension. Indeed, he ceased not to honour me until his removal from this life—his kindness towards me suffering no decline.

2. This, as it awakened envy, exposed me to danger; for a certain Jew, named Jonathan, who had excited an insurrection in Cyrene, involving in destruction two thousand of the inhabitants, whom he prevailed on to join him, being thrown into irons by the governor of the district, and sent to the emperor, accused me of having supplied him with arms and money. Vespasian, however, detecting the fabrication, condemned him to death, and he perished by the stroke of the executioner.

Subsequently, also, numerous accusations were framed against me by those who envied my good fortune; but, by the providence of God, I was delivered out of all. I further received, from Vespasian, a considerable grant of land in Judæa.

3. At this period, feeling dissatisfied with the behaviour of my wife, I divorced her. She had borne me three children: of these, two died; the third, whom I named Hyrcanus, survives. I afterwards married a lady who had resided in Crete, but of Jewish extraction. She was of a very distinguished family—the most illustrious, indeed, in that country. In disposition she was superior to many of her sex, as her life, in the sequel, testified. By her I had two sons: the name of the elder was Justus; that of the younger Simonides, who was also called Agrippa. Thus far of my domestic history.

4. Imperial favour continued unaltered towards me. For, after the decease of Vespasian, I experienced from Titus, who succeeded to the empire, the same attention which had been shown me by his father; and, though frequent imputations were thrown out against me, he disbelieved them. Domitian, who next ascended the throne, increased the honours which his predecessors had conferred on me. Those Jews who brought charges against me, he punished; and, for a similar offence, he inflicted on one of my servants, a eunuch—the tutor of my son, a severe chastisement. He further exempted my estate in Judæa from taxation—a mark of the highest respect to the individual who receives it. Cæsar's consort, Domitia, moreover, ceased not to load me with favours.

5. Such are the principal events of my life; and from them let others, according to their own views, form an estimate of my character. But as I have for your use, Epaphroditus, most excellent of men, drawn up the entire treatise on the Antiquities, I shall here, for the present, close my narrative.

THE JEWISH WAR.

BOOK I.



ARGUMENT OF THE FIRST BOOK.

PREFACE —1. The taking of the city of Jerusalem, and concerning Matthias and Judas, the Maccabees.—2. Of Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus.—3. Concerning the end of Aristobulus.—4. Of Alexander Jannæus.—5. Of Alexandra, and the supremacy of the Pharisees.—6. Of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and in what manner Pompey became the arbiter of their differences.—7. What Pompey did in Judæa.—8. Concerning Gabinius, Crassus, and Cassius.—9. Aristobulus and Alexander put to death: Antipater renders services to Cæsar.—10. The conduct of Antipater in Judæa.—11. Herod is appointed to the government of all Syria.—12. Antony makes Herod and Phasaëlus tetrarchs.—13. The treatment of Hyrcanus and Phasaëlus by the Parthians.—14. Antony and Cæsar jointly make Herod king of the Jews.—15. The conduct of Herod in Judæa upon his return from Rome.—16. Herod takes Sepphoris, and subdues the brigands.—17. Herod lays siege to Jerusalem, and marries Mariamne.—18. Herod takes Jerusalem by storm;—19. and vanquishes the Arabians: concerning a great earthquake.—20. Herod's sovereignty is confirmed by Cæsar;—21. and he builds many cities.—22. Aristobulus, Hyrcanus, and Mariamne, meet their end.—23. Accusations brought against the sons of Mariamne.—24. Animosities among the relatives of Herod.—25. Archelaus reconciles Alexander and Pheroras to Herod.—26. Concerning the calumnies of Eurycles against the sons of Mariamne.—27. Death of the sons of Herod.—28. Antipater the object of universal hatred: Herod's marriages, and his children.—29. Antipater is sent to Rome, bearing Herod's will: Pheroras dies at home.—30. Herod discovers that Antipater had prepared to poison him;—31. and brings him to trial.—32. Herod defers the punishment of Antipater until he should be recovered, and meantime alters his will.—33. Herod gives orders for the execution of Antipater and many others, and survives only five days.

PREFACE.

1. THE war which the Jews maintained against the Romans—a struggle, the severest, not only of those which our own age has witnessed, but almost of any whereof accounts have reached us, whether states of greater or less importance have come into collision—has attracted the attention of various writers. Of these, some, not personally conversant with the events, having collected from rumour puerile and contradictory stories, have related them in an artificial style: whilst others, who took part in the occurrences, have, either with a view to flatter the Romans, or from antipathy to the Jews, misrepresented them, their pages exhibiting, now crimination, and now encomium, but nowhere historical accuracy.

Under these circumstances, I formed the design of furnishing the subjects of the Roman empire with a narrative of the facts, by translating into Greek the volumes which I had previously composed in our vernacular language, and transmitted to the inhabitants of Upper Asia. I am Josephus, the son of Matthias: by descent a Hebrew, born in Jerusalem, and of sacerdotal rank. In the commencement of the contest, I was myself also an antagonist of the Romans: in the sequel, their associate, from necessity.

2. At the period of this mighty commotion to which I have alluded, the Romans were labouring under intestine disorders, and the revolutionary party among the Jews—a party, deficient neither in strength nor resources—rose in rebellion amidst the turbulence of the times; and, from the magnitude of the disturbances, so threatening became the aspect of affairs in the East, that the insurgents were led to entertain the hope of acquisition, and their opponents to tremble for their conquests. For the Jews expected that all their kindred beyond the Euphrates would unite with them in revolt; while the Romans, on the other hand, were harassed by their neighbours the Gauls; and the Celts were restless and unquiet. Added to this, the death of Nero threw every thing into confusion: the

juncture inducing many to aspire to sovereign power, and the soldiery, in the hope of plunder, looking eagerly for change.

I thought it unreasonable, therefore, to allow the truth, in matters of so much moment, to remain undetermined; and that, while even the Parthians, the Babylonians, the most remote Arabians, with our kindred beyond the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, had, through my assiduous care, been accurately informed as to the origin of the war, through what disasters it proceeded, and how it terminated, the Greeks, and such of the Romans as had not been engaged in the contest, should be ignorant on these subjects, perusing the effusions of flattery or fiction.

3. Though the writers referred to have the effrontery to entitle their productions histories, yet throughout these, as it appears to me, irrespective of the utter unsoundness of the narrative, they miss the special object of their aim. For, while it is their wish to exalt the Romans, they yet invariably depreciate and disparage the conduct of the Jews. But I do not see how those can be accounted great, who triumph only over the ignoble. They respect, moreover, neither the protracted character of the war, the amount of the Roman force it held in occupation, nor the renown of the generals, whose laurels, so hardly earned under the walls of Jerusalem, must, I conceive, be tarnished, if aught be derogated from their heroic achievements.

4. Through no invidious opposition, however, to those who extol the Romans, will I allow myself to exaggerate the deeds of my countrymen; but will relate with accuracy the proceedings of both parties; introducing into the detail reflections on the events, and permitting my feelings to vent themselves over the calamities of my country. For, that intestine dissensions were its ruin, and that Jewish tyrants drew down the reluctant hands of the Romans, and the flames, upon our holy temple, he who reduced it to desolation, Titus Cæsar, is my witness; commiserating as he did, during the entire war, the people held in thrall by the factions, and often of his own accord deferring the capture of the city, and interposing delay in the siege, to leave the guilty room for repentance.

But should any one censure the tone of reprehension in which I speak of the tyrants, or their brigand bands, or blame my language when groaning over the misfortunes of my country, let him pardon my emotion, albeit a transgression against the law of history. For, of all the cities under the Roman sway, it was the lot of ours to attain the very highest felicity, and to plunge in the sequel into the deepest calamities. Nay, the aggregate of human woes from the beginning

of the world, would, I am of opinion, be light in comparison with those of the Jews—woes too, in the blame of which no foreigner had any share; so that it were impossible to repress complaint. Should there however still be a critic too austere for sympathy, let him assign the transactions to the narrative—the lamentations to the historian.

5. And here, I might with justice rebuke those literary men among the Greeks, who, though such great events have taken place in their own age, as, when contrasted with them, throw completely into the shade the wars of former times, yet sit in judgment in order to depreciate those who apply themselves to these subjects—men, who, if their inferiors in eloquence, have certainly the advantage of them in purpose. They treat, moreover, of the affairs of the Assyrians or Medes, as if less elegantly set forth by ancient authors, who excel them notwithstanding, as much in talent for composition, as in sentiment. For, with those the great object was, to write on topics, their own immediate connexion with which rendered their narrative vivid; while, to publish a falsehood among such as could at once detect it, would be to ensure disgrace. Besides that, although commendation and acknowledgment be due, as well to the individual who hands down to memory events already recorded, as to him who composes for the benefit of posterity a history of the occurrences of his own time; yet the character of an industrious writer pertains not to the man, who merely alters the disposition and arrangement of another's work; but to him, who, with the introduction of new matter, models for himself the body of his history. Thus I, a foreigner, have spared neither trouble nor expense, that I might present both to Greeks and Romans this memorial of high achievements.

As to the native writers, indeed, where any lucre is in view, or in suits at law, their mouths are opened, and their tongues loosed at once; but as to history, where it is necessary to adhere to truth, and with much labour to collect materials, they are mute; ceding to the less competent, and the ill-informed, the task of recording the exploits of princes. Let historic verity then be honoured among us, neglected though it be among the Greeks.

6. To treat of the antiquities of the Jews, their origin, the particulars of their withdrawal from Egypt, the extent of country they traversed in their wanderings, the territories of which they successively possessed themselves, and the mode of their removal from them, would, I conceive, be unseasonable at present, as well as on other grounds superfluous; inasmuch as many Jews, prior to me, have drawn up with accuracy annals of their forefathers, which

several of the Greeks have translated into their native tongue, with but little deviation from the truth. Where these annalists and our prophets conclude, I shall take up the thread of the narrative. The events of the war which occurred in my own time I shall detail more at large, and with all the attention I can command: those of anterior date I shall run over concisely.

7. Thus I shall relate in what manner Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, after having carried Jerusalem by assault, and held it for three years and six months, was expelled the country by the sons of Asamonæus: then, how the descendants of these, quarrelling among themselves for the crown, dragged into the controversy the Romans and Pompey; and how Herod, son of Antipater, with the aid of Sossius, overthrew their dynasty: the revolt of the people, moreover, after the death of Herod, Augustus at the time ruling the Romans, and Quintilius Varus being president of the Province: the breaking out of the war in the twelfth year of Nero: the casualties which befel Cestius; and what places the Jews surprised at the commencement of hostilities.

8. My narrative will, further, include an account of their fortifying the neighbouring towns: of Nero's apprehensions for the empire, occasioned by the disasters of Cestius, and his consequent appointment of Vespasian to the conduct of the war: of the invasion of the Jewish territory by that general, and the elder of his sons: the amount of the Roman force employed, and the number of auxiliaries cut off throughout Galilee: what towns of that province were completely reduced by storm, or surrendered by capitulation.

Here I shall describe the admirable order maintained by the Romans on service, and the discipline of the legions: the extent, and natural features, of either Galilee: the boundaries of Judæa, with the peculiarities of the country, its lakes, and fountains. I shall, likewise, give an accurate detail of the sufferings of the prisoners taken in the several towns, as I witnessed, or shared them; for I shall not conceal aught of my calamities, being about to address myself to those who are acquainted with them.

9. I shall next relate the death of Nero, the affairs of the Jews being now on the decline, and how Vespasian, then rapidly marching upon Jerusalem, was drawn off to assume the imperial throne: the portents which occurred to him relative to this: the descents on Rome: his reluctant elevation to the empire by the soldiery: the insurrectionary movements among the Jews on his departure for Egypt to arrange the administration of the government: the rise of the tyrants among them, and the feuds of these tyrants among themselves.

10. I shall then advert to the second invasion of the country by Titus, on his breaking up from Egypt:—state how, and where, he mustered his forces, and their amount: how the city stood affected by the sedition, when he appeared before it: his various assaults, and the number of mounds he constructed: the circuits of the three walls, and their admeasurement: the strength of the city, with the plan of the temple and sanctuary: the dimensions of these likewise, and of the altar, all with accuracy: certain customs at the festivals: the seven purifications, and the public offices of the priests: their vestments, moreover, as also those of the high priests; with a description of the holy place of the temple:—neither concealing any thing, nor adding to facts so fully brought to light.

11. I shall then detail the cruelty of the tyrants to their countrymen, and the clemency of the Romans toward those of another race; and relate how frequently Titus, in his anxiety to save the city and the temple, invited the insurgents to terms. I shall, further, distinguish between the sufferings and calamities of the people, as occasioned respectively by the war, the sedition, and the famine, until their final subjugation. Nor shall I pass in silence the misfortunes of the deserters, or the punishments of the prisoners: the burning of the temple, contrary to Cæsar's wishes: the number of sacred utensils rescued from the flames: the complete reduction of the city, with the portents and prodigies that preceded it: the capture of the tyrants: the multitude of the enslaved, and the lot accorded to each: how the Romans completed what remained of the war, and effected the demolition of the fortified places: the progress of Titus throughout the country, and the consequent re-establishment of order: his return to Italy, and his triumph.

12. These various subjects I have comprised in seven books; and while I have written for such as love truth, and not merely to furnish amusement, I have left no cause of complaint or reprehension to those conversant with the transactions, and who were personally engaged in the contest.

The history will open with the events referred to in the commencement of the foregoing summary.

CHAPTER I.

1. At the period when Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, was disputing with the sixth Ptolemy the undivided mastery of Syria, dissensions having arisen among the Jewish nobles, the object of whose ambition was the supreme power, all in authority disdaining submission to their equals, Onias, one of the chief priests, gaining the ascendant, expelled the sons of Tobias from the city. These, escaping to Antiochus, besought him—employing them as leaders, to invade Judæa. That monarch, long intent on the enterprise, was prevailed on; and, pressing forward at the head of a formidable army, he took Jerusalem by assault—put to the sword vast numbers of those attached to the interests of Ptolemy—allowed his troops unrestricted pillage—despoiled the temple in person—and, during three years and six months, interrupted the course of the daily sacrifices. The chief priest, Onias, having sought refuge with Ptolemy, and being presented by him with a tract of ground in the prefecture of Heliopolis, built a small town on the model of Jerusalem, with a temple to correspond. But to this we shall again advert in the proper place.

2. Yet neither the city, captured beyond his expectation, nor its spoils, nor the direful carnage, could satisfy Antiochus; who, hurried away by his ungovernable passions, and by the recollection of what he had suffered in the siege, compelled the Jews, in violation of the institutions of their country, to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to immolate swine upon the altar; and though all submitted, the most distinguished were massacred. Bacchides, moreover, who had been despatched by Antiochus to assume the command of the garrison, adding to his natural ferocity the impious injunctions of his master, was guilty of every excess of crime; putting to the torture, one by one, the men of eminence, and daily affording the city a public representation of capture; until, by the extremity of their wrongs, he provoked the sufferers to revenge.

3. Accordingly, Matthias, son of Asamonæus, a priest, of the village of Modin, arming with cleavers himself and his household, for he had five sons, slew Bacchides; and forthwith, dreading his numerous garrisons, fled to the mountains. Multitudes of his countrymen joining him, he was encouraged to descend; and giving battle, he defeated the generals of Antiochus, and drove them out of Judæa. By this success he attained supreme power, which he

enjoyed by consent of all, in return for the expulsion of the foreigners; and died, bequeathing his authority to Judas, his eldest son.

4. Judas, conjecturing that Antiochus would not remain inactive, raised a native force, and having formed an alliance with the Romans—the first to do so—forced Epiphanes, who had again entered the country, to retire with great loss. In the ardour of victory Judas attacked the garrison in the city, which had not yet been reduced, and having expelled the troops from the upper town, drove them into the lower, a quarter of the city called Acra. Being now master of the temple, he purified the place throughout, and walled it round; and having prepared new utensils for the public services, he conveyed them into the sanctuary, as though the former had been polluted; and, having constructed another altar, restored the course of the sacrifices. Scarcely, however, had the city beheld its sacred rites restored, when Antiochus expired, leaving his son Antiochus heir, alike to his kingdom, and to his abhorrence of the Jews.

5. Having, therefore, collected fifty thousand infantry, five thousand cavalry, and eighty elephants, he pushed through Judæa into the hill country. Here he took the little town of Bethsuron; and, at a place called Bethzacharias, a narrow pass, was encountered by Judas, at the head of his forces. But before the armies came into collision, Eleazar, brother of Judas, observing the tallest of the elephants with a huge tower, and decorated with gilded out-works; and concluding that it bore Antiochus, ran out to a distance from his own lines, and, cutting through the enemies' ranks, reached the elephant. Unable, however, from its height, to strike the supposed monarch, he stabbed the beast in the belly, and bringing it down on himself, was crushed to death: having achieved nothing more than to attempt a great action—holding life second to glory. The master of the elephant was, however, a private person; and yet, had it even happened to be Antiochus, the daring Eleazar would only have shown that, in the bare hope of a brilliant exploit, he could court death. This proved to his brother a presage of the issue of the engagement. For, long and valiantly as the Jews maintained their ground, they at length yielded to the superior numbers, and better fortune, of the royal army. Many of his troops having perished, Judas retreated with the remnant into the territory of Gophna. Antiochus marched to Jerusalem; but, owing to a deficiency in his supplies, he remained there only a few days; and leaving what he deemed a sufficient garrison, drew off the rest of his army to winter quarters in Syria.

6. On the king's departure, Judas was not inactive; but at the head of his countrymen, who flocked to him in great numbers, and whom he united with such of the troops as had escaped from the conflict, he gave battle, at a village called Acedasa, to the generals of Antiochus; and, after distinguishing himself as the bravest on the field, and making great havoc of the enemy, he was slain. A few days after, perished also his brother John, against whom a conspiracy was formed by those attached to the interests of Antiochus.

CHAPTER II.

1. JONATHAN, on succeeding to his brother, while he conducted himself guardedly towards his own people, and confirmed his authority by an alliance with the Romans, effected, besides, a reconciliation with the young Antiochus. None of these, however, proved sufficient for his safety; for the tyrant Trypho, who, while guardian to the young Antiochus, had concerted measures against that prince, and, as a preliminary step, had attempted to deprive him of his friends, treacherously seized Jonathan when on his way to Ptolemais with a few attendants to visit Antiochus; and, having thrown him into bonds, led an army against the Jews. But being repulsed by Simon, Jonathan's brother, and being exasperated at his defeat, he put his prisoner to death.

2. Simon ably administered affairs, taking from his neighbours Zara, as well as Joppa, and Jamnia; and, having vanquished the garrison of Jerusalem, he razed Acra to the foundations. He, moreover, formed a confederacy with Antiochus against Trypho, whom he had besieged in Dora, prior to his expedition against the Medes. But not even could his having aided in the fall of Trypho, shame the king's cupidity; for, not long after, Antiochus detached a force under the command of Cendebæus, his general, to ravage Judæa, and reduce Simon to vassalage. He, however, although now advanced in years, conducted the war with the spirit of a younger man; and despatching his sons against the invader with the most able-bodied of his troops, proceeded himself at the head of a division of his army on a different service. Laying numerous ambuscades in all quarters, even among the mountains, he succeeded in every encounter; and, having obtained such signal triumphs, was declared high-priest, and, in the hundred and seventieth year of the Macedonian supremacy, liberated the Jews from thralldom.

3. He nevertheless fell a victim to treachery ; being murdered at an entertainment by his son-in-law, Ptolemy, who, after throwing his wife and two of his sons into prison, sent a party to despatch the third, John, who also bore the name of Hyrcanus. The youth, having received intimation of their approach, hastened to take refuge in the city, placing the utmost confidence in the people, as well because of their recollection of his father's achievements, as from their abhorrence of Ptolemy's atrocities. Ptolemy also made an effort to enter at another gate, but was repelled by the citizens, who, at the instant, had admitted Hyrcanus ; and he retired without delay to one of the fortresses beyond Jericho, called Dagon. Hyrcanus, having been invested with the family dignity of the high-priesthood, sacrificed to God, and proceeded by forced marches against Ptolemy, to avenge the wrongs of his mother and brothers.

4. Having assaulted the fortress, Hyrcanus was all but victorious, when he was subdued by natural affection ; for Ptolemy, as often as he was hard pressed, brought forward his mother and brothers to the ramparts, and scourging them in public view, threatened to throw them headlong, if he did not instantly draw off his troops. On this, pity and terror, overpowering his indignation, seized the heart of Hyrcanus ; while his mother, giving way neither to her agonies, nor to the death that menaced her, stretched out her hands, and, in return, besought her son not to be prevailed on, by the insults offered her, to spare the monster ; as death from Ptolemy would be better to her even than immortality, should he but receive punishment for the injuries he had heaped upon their house. John, while his mother's firmness re-assured him, and while he listened to her entreaties, felt impelled to rush to the assault : but again, when he beheld her beaten and lacerated, he was unmanned, and became completely mastered by his emotion. By these means the siege was protracted until the arrival of the year of rest, which, in its septennial return, the Jews observe in like manner as they do the seventh day. Ptolemy accordingly, thus released from the siege, put to death John's mother and brothers, and fled to Zeno, surnamed Cotylas, who had usurped the supreme authority in Philadelphia.

5. Antiochus, enraged by what he had endured at the hands of Simon, led an army into Judæa, and sitting down before Jerusalem, besieged Hyrcanus ; who, opening the sepulchre of David, the richest of kings, and privately taking out upwards of three thousand talents in money, both induced Antiochus, by the payment of three hundred, to raise the siege ; and also, from the remaining surplus, maintained—the first of the Jews to do so—a mercenary force.

6. Presently afterwards, however, when Antiochus, by leading his forces against the Medes, afforded him opportunity for revenge, he forthwith marched against the towns in Syria, rightly conjecturing that he should find them unprovided with effective garrisons. He, accordingly, reduced Medabe, Samæa, and others in their neighbourhood, as also Sicima and Garizin; and with these the nation of the Chuthæans, who inhabited the country lying around the temple which had been modelled after that in Jerusalem. Not a few cities of Idumæa also, fell beneath his arms, besides Adoreon and Marissa.

7. Advancing as far as Samaria, on the site of which now stands Sebaste, a city built by king Herod, he drew round it a line of circumvallation, entrusting the direction of the siege to his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus; and so closely did they press the operations, that the besieged were compelled by famine to touch what had never before been used for food. They sought the aid of Antiochus, surnamed Aspendius, who, readily complying, was defeated by the forces of Aristobulus. He fled, pursued by the brothers, to the very gates of Scythopolis. These, on their return to Samaria, again shut up the multitude within the walls, and having captured the town, razed it to the foundations, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery. Their enterprises thus succeeding, they did not allow their ardour to cool, but marched, in force, as far as Scythopolis, ravaged it, and laid waste the whole of the country lying within Mount Carmel.

8. Jealousy, however, of the success of John, and his sons, excited a sedition among their countrymen, great numbers of whom assembled to oppose them, and continued unquiet, until, bursting out in open war, they sustained a defeat. The residue of his days John passed in prosperity; and after administering the government with distinguished ability during the full period of three and thirty years, he died, survived by five sons: undoubtedly a highly favoured individual, and one in respect of whom no complaint could be adduced against fortune. Thus, and it was a solitary instance, he enjoyed the supreme civil authority, the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy; for, such was his intercourse with the Deity, that nothing future was unknown to him: insomuch that he foresaw, and predicted, that his two elder sons would not long hold the reins of government. Their melancholy end it may be worth our while to relate, and show how wide was the contrast between their lot, and the better fortune of their father.

CHAPTER III.

I. ON the demise of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, his eldest son, having changed the form of government to the regal, first assumed the diadem, four hundred and seventy-one years and three months after the return of the people to their country, on their liberation from servitude in Babylon. Of his brothers, he admitted Antigonus, who was next to him in seniority, and whom apparently he loved, to an equal participation in his honours: the others he imprisoned, and threw into irons. His mother, also, he placed in confinement, as she had contended with him for the supreme power, John having left her mistress of the realm. And to such a length did he carry his cruelty, that he starved her to death in prison.

2. Retribution, however, overtook him through his brother Antigonus, whom he loved, and had made his associate in the kingdom, but whom he destroyed, in consequence of calumnies devised by profligate persons attached to the palace. At first, indeed, Aristobulus disbelieved what was said, as well from the love he bore his brother, as from his imputing to envy the many rumours industriously circulated. But Antigonus, having come up with great pomp from the army, to attend the sacred festival, at which, according to national usage, tabernacles are erected, and Aristobulus happening at that season to be indisposed, Antigonus, towards the conclusion of the solemnities, repaired to the temple with a military escort, and, arrayed with the utmost possible magnificence, to offer special worship on his brother's behalf. At this moment, these miscreants went to the king, and represented to him the parade of the soldiery, as well as the lofty bearing of Antigonus, unsuited to a private individual; and that he had appeared with a formidable force, intending to put him to death, unable to content himself with a dignity reflected from the throne, when it was in his power to seize upon the throne itself.

3. Gradually, and with reluctance, Aristobulus credited these insinuations. Yet careful, at once, to avoid the semblance of suspicion, and to provide against any covert attempt, he stationed his bodyguards in a dark subterraneous passage—he was himself at the time confined to bed in a tower formerly called Baris, but subsequently named Antonia—with orders to allow Antigonus, if unarmed, to pass; but to despatch him, should he approach in arms. He further sent him an intimation to come unarmed. To counteract this

precaution, the queen concocted a most artful scheme with the conspirators; in pursuance of which they prevailed upon the messengers to suppress the king's instructions, and acquaint Antigonus, that his brother, having heard of his splendid suit of armour, and of the military accoutrements which he had procured in Galilee, was anxious, now that he was on the eve of departure, to see him in these arms, as he was prevented by illness from inspecting them.

4. Hearing this, Antigonus, as his brother's disposition forbade him to harbour any sinister suspicion, went in his armour, for the purpose of showing it to him. But, on reaching the dark passage, known by the name of Strato's Tower, he was killed by the bodyguards, furnishing a striking proof, that calumny severs every amiable and natural affection, and that, even of our better feelings, none is so strong as uniformly to resist envy.

5. In this instance Judas, by birth an Essæan, may well excite admiration, to whom it never happened to fall into error or misstatement in his predictions:—this man observing Antigonus at the moment, passing through the temple, exclaimed to his acquaintances—and there were many of his disciples attending him—“Strange! now well were it for me to die, since truth has perished before me, and one of my predictions has been falsified. For this Antigonus is alive, when he should have died to-day:—the destined scene of his murder was Strato's Tower, and that is distant from hence six hundred furlongs; and it is already the fourth hour of the day: thus time makes void the prophecy.” Saying this, the old man remained, with a dejected countenance, buried in meditation. A little after, however, it was told that Antigonus had been slain in a subterraneous passage, which also was designated Strato's Tower—the same in name with the maritime Cæsarea. It was this circumstance that had disconcerted the prophet.

6. Remorse for this atrocious crime instantly aggravated the malady of Aristobulus; and his mind being constantly haunted by thoughts of the murder, he continued to decline, until at length, his bowels being racked by immoderate grief, he threw up a mass of blood. While one of the servants in attendance was removing this, by some interposition of Providence he slipped, at the very spot where Antigonus had been slaughtered; and, on the still-perceptible stains of the murder, spilt the blood of the fratricide. An instantaneous shriek was raised by the spectators, as if the servant had poured the blood there intentionally. The cry reaching the ears of the king, he inquired the cause; and, no one venturing to inform him, he became the more anxious to learn it. At length,

compelled by his threats, they told the truth : on which, his eyes filled with tears, and having groaned loud as his strength permitted, he said : “ It could not be that the broad eye of God should be closed to impious deeds; but swift retribution pursues me for the murder of my kindred. How long, most shameless body, wilt thou detain a soul doomed to vengeance for a brother, and mother ! How long shall I make a libation of my blood drop by drop ! Let them take it all at once ; nor let Fate longer amuse herself with these blood-offerings from my vitals ! ” With these words upon his lips he expired, after a reign of not more than a year.

CHAPTER IV.

1. THE queen-widow, having liberated the brothers of Aristobulus, placed on the throne Alexander, whose seniority as well as moderation gave him the preference. But when raised to power, he put to death one of his brothers, who aspired to the crown : the survivor, who was fond of ease, he kept apart from state affairs.

2. An encounter took place between him and Ptolemy, surnamed Lathurus, who had taken the town of Asochis ; and, though he committed great slaughter among his opponents, victory inclined to the side of his antagonist. Subsequently, however, when Ptolemy, pursued by his mother Cleopatra, retired into Egypt, Alexander reduced Gadara by siege, as also Amathus, the principal fortress beyond the Jordan ; and in which were deposited the most valuable of the treasures of Theodorus, son of Zeno. But Theodorus, falling on him suddenly, captured, as well his own property, as the king's baggage, and put to the sword, besides, about ten thousand Jews. Alexander, recovering from this defeat, turned toward the maritime districts, and made himself master of Raphia and Gaza, as also of Anthedon, which afterwards was named Agrippias by king Herod.

3. On the subjugation of these towns, the Jewish populace rose in insurrection against him at one of the festivals—for it is chiefly at these times that seditions are kindled : nor would he perhaps have mastered this conspiracy, had not his foreign troops come to his aid :—these were natives of Pisidia and Cilicia :—the Syrians he did not admit among his mercenaries, on account of their inborn enmity to the Jewish nation. After slaughtering upwards of six thousand of the insurgents, he turned his arms against Arabia ; and wresting from

it the Galaadites and Moabites, he imposed a tribute on them, and once more led his forces against Amathus. Theodorus being struck with terror at his success, he found the fortress deserted, and laid it in ruins.

4. He next attacked Obodas king of the Arabians, who had prepared an ambuscade near Gaulane, and being caught in the snare, he lost his entire army; the troops being crowded together in a deep ravine, and crushed by a multitude of camels. He himself, effecting his escape to Jerusalem, provoked the nation, which long had hated him, to insurrection, by the magnitude of this disaster. Yet even in this instance he proved victorious; and, in their mutual rencounters, slew, in the space of six years, not fewer than fifty thousand Jews. He had, however, little reason to rejoice in his victories, wasting as they did his own dominions. Accordingly, resting from arms, he endeavoured by persuasion to conciliate his subjects; but they regarded only with the deeper abhorrence his change of purpose, and this inconsistency of character. When he inquired the cause, and what he could do to pacify them, they bade him die; for even in death scarcely could they be reconciled to one, who had been guilty of such enormities. They, withal, invited to their aid Demetrius, surnamed Acairus; who, in the hope of aggrandizement, readily complied, and marched an army to their assistance. With these auxiliaries the Jews formed a junction in the neighbourhood of Shechem.

5. To this combined force, amounting to three thousand cavalry, and forty thousand foot, Alexander opposed one thousand horse, and a body of eight thousand foot, mercenaries; and there were with him besides, ten thousand Jews, who still adhered to his fortunes. Prior to the action, the kings endeavoured, through their heralds, to induce desertion from the ranks on either side. Demetrius, on the one hand, hoping to gain over Alexander's mercenaries: Alexander, on the other, seeking to win the Jews who were with Demetrius. But, the Jews wavering not in their resentment, nor the Greeks in their fidelity, they met to decide their differences by the sword. In the battle, notwithstanding the many feats of gallantry and strength performed by Alexander's mercenaries, Demetrius prevailed. The result of the conflict, however, proved contrary to the expectations of both parties. For they who had called in his aid, failed in their adherence to the victorious Demetrius; while in compassion for his change of fortune, six thousand Jews joined Alexander, who had fled to the mountains. This turn of affairs was too much for Demetrius; and conjecturing that Alexander was now able once more to take the field, and that the tide was flowing, with the whole nation, toward him, he withdrew.

6. The remainder of the people, however, did not, on the departure of the auxiliaries, relinquish the contest with Alexander; but maintained it, until the greater part of them having fallen beneath his arms, he drove the residue into the town of Bemeselis. This he laid in ruins, and conducted the prisoners to Jerusalem. Cruelty of disposition, under the impulse of excessive resentment, hurried him into impiety. For, having affixed eight hundred of the captives to crosses in the centre of the city, he butchered their wives and children before their eyes; while he looked on, drinking, and dallying with his concubines. Such was the consternation which these atrocities excited, that eight thousand of the opposing party fled on the following night beyond the confines of Judæa; their exile terminating only with his life. Having, by such means, though late and with difficulty, obtained tranquillity for his kingdom, Alexander reposed from arms.

7. A fresh source of disturbance, however, sprang up to him in Antiochus, surnamed Dionysius, brother of Demetrius, and last of the Seleucidæ. Afraid of this prince, who was hastening on an expedition against the Arabians, he cut a deep fosse, extending from the mountain district of Antipatris to the sea-coast at Joppa; and, to prevent easy inroads, erected in front of it a high wall, fortified with wooden towers. He was, nevertheless, unable to check Antiochus, who burned the towers, filled up the fosse, and marched through with his army. Deferring to an after-time the punishment of him who had occasioned this interruption, he pushed forward against the Arabians. Their king retiring into those parts of the country best adapted for encountering the enemy, made a sudden movement in rear with his horse, amounting to ten thousand, and falling on the troops of Antiochus, which were yet in disorder, a severe conflict ensued. The forces of Antiochus, so long as he survived, maintained the combat, though dreadfully cut up by the Arabians; but on the fall of their leader, who had ever been foremost in danger, succouring those who were overpowered, they gave way in mass, and were, the greater part of them, destroyed, either on the field, or in the pursuit. The remnant, taking refuge in the village of Cana, soon after fell victims to famine, a few only excepted.

8. On his death, the Damascenes, through hatred to Ptolemy, son of Mennæus, introduced Aretas, and raised him to the throne of Cœle-Syria. This prince led an expedition into Judæa, and having defeated Alexander in battle, retired under treaty. Alexander, having subdued Pella, directed his march on the city of Gerasa, lured by the treasures of Theodorus; and, having hemmed in the garrison by a triple wall of circumvallation, carried the place by assault. He

vanquished also Gaulane, with Seleucia, and took the Ravine of Antiochus—so called. He reduced Gamala likewise, a fortress of great strength ; and deprived the governor, Demetrius, of his office, in consequence of the numerous charges preferred against him. He returned to Judæa, having consumed three years in these expeditions. He was cordially welcomed by the nation on account of these successes : yet rest from war proved but the commencement of disease ; and harassed by a quartan ague, he thought to shake off the malady by again entering upon active life. Accordingly engaging in unseasonable expeditions, and undergoing fatigues beyond his strength, he cut short his days, and expired in the midst of tumults, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

CHAPTER V.

1. ALEXANDER bequeathed the kingdom to his wife Alexandra, assured that the Jews would yield her especial obedience, as she had ingratiated herself into their affections by her extreme aversion to his cruelties, and by her opposition to his iniquitous conduct. Nor was he deceived in these expectations ; for such was the prevailing opinion of her piety, that this woman held firm possession of the supreme authority. She had indeed made the national institutions her habitual study, and had, from the first, discountenanced those who offended against the sacred laws. She had borne Alexander two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The elder, as well from his age, as from being of a disposition too indolent to trouble himself about public affairs, she declared high priest : but the younger, on account of his warmth of temper, she retained in private life.

2. Under Alexandra rose to power the Pharisees, a certain sect among the Jews, reputed to excel others in piety, and in the accurate exposition of the laws. To these, being herself of a religious turn, she listened with too much attention, while they, gradually taking advantage of an artless woman, became, ere long, the directors of the state, assuming at their pleasure to banish and recall, to loose and to bind. In a word, to them belonged the enjoyment of regal authority ; while to Alexandra were left its expenses, and its difficulties. Competent, however, as she was, to the management of important concerns, by incessant additions to her levies, she doubled the army, and drew together, moreover, no small body of foreign troops ; so

that she not only strengthened her own dominions, but rendered herself an object of apprehension to foreign potentates. Yet, while she governed others, the Pharisees governed her.

3. They accordingly put to death Diogenes, a person of distinction, who had been a friend of Alexander, and whom they accused of having been an adviser in the affair of the eight hundred persons crucified by that monarch. They prevailed on Alexandra to destroy others also, by whom the mind of her husband had been embittered against themselves. She, the slave of superstition, complied, while they destroyed whomsoever they would. The most distinguished of those who were thus endangered, fled to Aristobulus, who persuaded his mother to spare them, in consideration of their rank; yet to expel them from the city, should she not be satisfied of their innocence. Thus, their safety being guaranteed, they dispersed themselves through the country.

Alexandra having detached a strong force against Damascus, alleging as a pretext, that Ptolemy was constantly harassing that city, received its submission, the Damascenes having attempted nothing memorable. She endeavoured moreover, by treaties and presents, to conciliate Tigranes, king of Armenia, who had sat down before Ptolemais, where he held Cleopatra in siege. Before she could effect her wishes, however, he broke up from thence, owing to troubles at home, Lucullus having made an inroad into Armenia.

4. In the mean time, Alexandra being taken ill, Aristobulus her younger son, snatching the opportunity, and with the aid of his domestics, who were numerous, and all warmly attached to him on account of the ardour of his temper, took possession of the whole of the fortresses; and having, with the money he found in them, drawn together a body of mercenaries, he proclaimed himself king. His mother, moved by the complaints of Hyrcanus, who bewailed these proceedings to her, shut up the wife and the sons of Aristobulus in the Antonia. This was a fort situated on the north side of the temple, formerly indeed, as I have stated, called Baris, but subsequently distinguished by this appellation during Antony's ascendancy; in like manner as from Sebastus and Agrippa, the cities Sebaste and Agrippias, received their later names. But before Alexandra could punish Aristobulus for the seizure of his brother's inheritance, she expired, having administered the government nine years.

CHAPTER VI.

1. HYRCANUS, although heir to the throne, and to whom his mother even in her life-time had committed the kingdom, was surpassed in vigour and intelligence by Aristobulus. A conflict for the supreme power taking place between them, in the neighbourhood of Jericho, a large body deserted Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus. Hyrcanus, with those who still adhered to him, having effected his retreat and gained the Antonia, got possession of hostages for his safety, in the persons of the wife and children of Aristobulus, so that, before any irreparable mischief had occurred, an arrangement was entered into, to the effect, that Aristobulus should occupy the throne; but that Hyrcanus, abdicating it, should enjoy his other dignities, as brother of the king. Being on these terms reconciled in the temple, and cordially embracing each other in presence of the surrounding crowd, they exchanged residences, Aristobulus proceeding to the palace, while Hyrcanus withdrew to the house of Aristobulus.

2. This unlooked-for advancement of Aristobulus gave alarm to his enemies, and particularly to Antipater, the object of his long-standing hatred. Antipater was an Idumæan by parentage, and on account of his descent, his wealth, and other means of power, held a distinguished rank among that people. By him Hyrcanus was induced to seek refuge with Aretas, king of Arabia, as a means of repossessing himself of his dominions; while, on the other hand, he prevailed on Aretas to receive Hyrcanus, and re-instate him in the government. Throwing out many aspersions against the character of Aristobulus, at the same time warmly eulogizing Hyrcanus, he suggested that Aretas should receive him; adding, that it would well become the possessor of so splendid a sovereignty, to extend a hand to the oppressed! And such was Hyrcanus, bereft of the power to which his birth entitled him.

Having thus prepared both parties, he, with Hyrcanus, effected his escape by night from the city, and prosecuting his journey with the utmost speed, reached in safety that called Petra, the residence of the Arabian kings. Here he committed Hyrcanus to the care of Aretas; and after frequent interviews, winning upon him by numerous presents, he induced him to furnish that prince with an army to re-instate him. To this force, fifty thousand strong, horse and foot, Aristobulus offered no effectual opposition, and being worsted in the first encounter, he was driven into Jerusalem; and the city would have been

carried by assault, had not Scaurus, the Roman general, taking advantage of the moment, raised the siege. That officer had been sent into Syria from Armenia by Pompey the Great, who was then engaged in hostilities against Tigranes. On arriving at Damascus, which had been recently captured by Metellus and Lollius, he superseded those generals, and hearing how affairs were situated in Judæa, he hastened thither as to a prize which chance had thrown to him.

3. On entering the country, he was immediately waited upon by deputations from the brothers, each soliciting his assistance. But three hundred talents offered by Aristobulus, outweighed the claims of justice; and Scaurus, induced by so large a bribe, despatched a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, threatening them with the vengeance of the Romans and of Pompey, unless the siege were raised. Aretas, struck with terror, withdrew in consequence from Judæa to Philadelphia, and Scaurus returned to Damascus. To have escaped capture, however, was not sufficient for Aristobulus: for collecting his whole force, he pursued his enemies, and encountering them at a place called Papyron, put upwards of six thousand to the sword, and among them Phallion, Antipater's brother.

4. Hyrcanus and Antipater, deprived of the Arabians, transferred their hopes to the opposite party; and repairing to Pompey, who had arrived at Damascus on his way through Syria, and employing the well-founded arguments they had made use of to Aretas, unaided by presents, earnestly entreated him to show his abhorrence of the violence of Aristobulus, and restore to the throne the individual entitled to it both by character and seniority. Nor was Aristobulus less zealous on his part, confiding in the corruption of Scaurus. He too was present, attired with all royal magnificence. But thinking servility dishonourable, and scorning to further his interests by means unbecoming his pretensions, he withdrew from Diospolis.

5. Pompey, irritated by this behaviour, and pressed by the earnest solicitations of Hyrcanus and his friends, advanced against Aristobulus, at the head of the Roman forces, and a considerable body of Syrian auxiliaries. Having proceeded beyond Pella and Scythopolis, he came to Corea, from which point the Jewish territory commences, as you advance toward the midland district: he there learned that Aristobulus had taken refuge in Alexandrium, a castle situated on a high mountain, and fortified with extreme care; and he despatched a messenger, ordering him to come down.

Summoned thus imperiously, his first impulse was to run any hazard rather than obey; but seeing the people disheartened, and his friends exhorting him to reflect on the irresistible power of the

Romans, he was prevailed on to meet Pompey; and having made many statements in his own favour, as to the justice of his rule, he returned to the fortress. At the summons of his brother, however, he came down a second time, and, having impleaded in support of his rights, withdrew, unobstructed by Pompey. Agitated between hope and fear, he would go down with the view of inducing the Roman general, by importunities, to commit to him the sovereign power; and as often ascended to his retreat, lest he should seem prematurely to have abandoned his cause. But when Pompey commanded him to surrender the fortresses, and, as the governors had received orders to obey such instructions only as were given under his hand, insisted on his directing them severally by letter to retire, he complied indeed, but, fired with indignation, he withdrew to Jerusalem, and made preparations for a war with him.

6. But Pompey, without allowing time for these preparations, followed close upon his track, accelerated in his movements by the death of Mithridates, intelligence of which had reached him at Jericho. This, the most fertile district of Judæa, nourishes numbers of palm trees, as well as the balsam tree; the stems of which being cut with sharp stones, the juice is received at the incisions, in drops like tears. At this place Pompey encamped for a night, and in the morning pressed forward to Jerusalem. Aristobulus, terrified at his approach, met him as a suppliant; and by the promise of money, and of the surrender of himself and the city, with difficulty appeased his resentment. No part of these engagements, however, was fulfilled; inasmuch as those that had charge of affairs for Aristobulus, would not so much as admit into the city Gabinius, who had been despatched to receive the money.

CHAPTER VII.

1. INCENSED at this, Pompey committed Aristobulus to custody; and having advanced to the city, he considered well on what point he should direct his attack. He found the walls from their height of almost impregnable strength, with a frightful ravine in front of them: while within this the temple was so strongly fortified, that, even after the capture of the town, it would afford a second refuge to the enemy.

2. But during the length of time in which he was undecided, a sedition broke out among those within;—the faction of Aristobulus

demanding the prosecution of the war, and the rescue of the king; while the partizans of Hyrcanus wished that the gates should be opened to Pompey. To the latter party many were added by fear, when they surveyed the perfect order of the Romans. The adherents of Aristobulus, being discomfited in the contest, retired into the temple, and breaking down the bridge which connected it with the city, prepared to hold out to the last. The others consenting to admit the Romans into the town, and to surrender the royal residences, Pompey directed Piso, one of his generals, to enter, and to occupy them with a force. That officer, having distributed guards through the city, when he found himself unable to induce a single individual among those who had taken refuge in the temple, to listen to terms, made the necessary dispositions throughout the entire circuit for an assault; the adherents of Hyrcanus cordially aiding him, both with their advice, and personal exertions.

3. The Roman commander now filled up the fosse, and the whole of the ravine, which lay on the north quarter, the troops collecting materials. This was an undertaking of difficulty, not only on account of the prodigious depth of the ravine, but from the impediments of every kind offered by the Jews from above. And the labours of the Romans would have been endless, had not Pompey, watching the recurrence of the seventh day, on which the Jews, through religious motives, refrain their hands from every work, raised the mound, restraining his soldiers from all actual aggression; for it is from personal attack alone that the Jews defend themselves on the sabbath. The ravine being now filled up, lofty towers erected upon the mound, and Pompey advancing, the engines brought from Tyre essayed the wall. The slingers soon repelled those, who from their more elevated position impeded the operations; but the towers on this quarter, superior in magnitude and beauty, long resisted their efforts.

4. Here, while the Romans were suffering severely, Pompey, who admired the accustomed fortitude of the Jews, was particularly struck with the uninterrupted regularity with which, amidst showers of darts, they proceeded with their religious service. For, as if the city had been in profound tranquillity, the daily sacrifices, the purifications, and every ministration, were accurately performed to God. Nor, during the very capture, and while being slaughtered around the altar, did they abstain from the daily observances.

It was in the third month of the siege, when, having with difficulty overthrown one of the towers, the Romans burst into the sacred edifice. The first who ventured to pass the wall was Faustus Cornelius, son of Sylla, followed by two centurions, Furius and

Fabius, attended by their respective bands. By these the Jews were surrounded on all sides, and slain; some flying to the sanctuary, others offering a brief resistance.

5. During this scene, many of the priests, though beholding their enemies advancing on them sword in hand, continued, with perfect composure, to carry forward the sacred services, and were slaughtered, while presenting libations, and burning incense, thus deeming their own preservation second in importance to the divine ministrations. Multitudes were destroyed by their countrymen of the adverse faction, while very many threw themselves down the precipices. Others again, maddened by their perplexities, fired the buildings around the wall, and were consumed along with them. Of the Jews, twelve thousand fell: the loss of the Romans in killed was trifling; their wounded were more numerous.

6. But, amidst all these calamities, nothing so sensibly affected the nation, as that the Holy Place, till then unlooked on, should have been exposed by aliens. The sanctuary, which the high priest alone was permitted to approach, was entered by Pompey and his attendants, who beheld what it contained—lamp-stem and lamps, and the table, and the vessels of libation, and the censers, all of solid gold; besides a vast quantity of spices there accumulated, with the sacred treasure to the amount of two thousand talents. Neither these, however, nor any of the sacred furniture, did he touch; but, the day after the capture, he even ordered the vergers to cleanse the temple, and directed the customary sacrifices to be proceeded with.

He, moreover, declared Hyrcanus high priest, in consideration not only of the activity displayed by him in the siege, but of his having preserved from defection great numbers of the rural population, who would willingly have joined the standard of Aristobulus; thus, as became a prudent general, he reduced the people to obedience rather by kindness than fear. Among the prisoners was the father-in-law of Aristobulus, who was also his uncle. Those who had been most active in promoting the war, Pompey punished with the axe; and having conferred on Faustus, and his brave companions in arms, magnificent rewards, he laid the whole country, Jerusalem included, under tribute.

7. Having deprived the Jews of the various towns which they had taken in Cœle-Syria, and annexed them to the jurisdiction of the Roman governor for the time being, he confined the nation within its proper boundaries. He likewise, to gratify Demetrius, one of his freed men, a native of Gadara, rebuilt that place, which had been laid in ruins by the Jews. He also liberated from their rule the cities in

the interior, which had hitherto escaped destruction—Hippos, Scythopolis, and Pella, Samaria, and Marissa, with Azotus, Jamnia, and Arethusa; as also the maritime towns, Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and that formerly called Strato's Tower, but which, subsequently restored in a style of the utmost magnificence by King Herod, was new-named Cæsarea. All these he delivered to the original occupants, annexing them to the province of Syria. This, with Judæa, and the intervening territories as far as Egypt and the Euphrates, he committed, with two legions, to Scaurus, and hurried through Cilicia to Rome, leading captive Aristobulus, and his family, consisting of two daughters and two sons. Of the latter, Alexander effected his escape on the journey: Antigonus, the younger, was conveyed with his sisters to Rome.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. IN the mean time Scaurus, who had invaded Arabia, was checked in his approach to Petra by the difficulties of the country. He laid waste, however, the neighbourhood of Pella, where also he was exposed to various hardships, as his army suffered severely from famine; although, to relieve his wants, Hyrcanus forwarded supplies through Antipater, whom Scaurus further commissioned to wait upon Aretas, then on intimate terms with him, to induce him to purchase a cessation of hostilities. The Arabian consented to give three hundred talents, and on these terms Scaurus withdrew the troops from his territory.

2. Alexander, son of Aristobulus, who had escaped from Pompey, in process of time collecting a considerable army, became a source of serious annoyance to Hyrcanus, and was now overrunning Judæa. Venturing so far as to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, which had been thrown down by Pompey, he would in all probability soon have expelled his rival from his dominions, had not Gabinius, who had been sent into Syria as successor to Scaurus, shown himself on this, as on other occasions, a generous friend, and hastened to oppose Alexander. That prince, alarmed at his approach, augmented his army to the number of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse; and fortified suitable positions, such as Alexandrium, Hyrcanium, and Machærus, which was situated in the vicinity of the Arabian mountains.

3. Gabinius, having despatched Marc Antony in advance at the head of a division of his forces, followed in person with the main body

of his army. Antipater's chosen band, with the other battalion of Jews, commanded by Malichus and Pitholaus, having formed a junction with Antony's generals, marched against Alexander; and were not long after reinforced by Gabinius, with the regular troops. Alexander, unable to resist the combined strength of his opponents, retreated; but was forced to an engagement in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Being defeated with the loss of six thousand men, of whom three thousand were killed, and three thousand taken prisoners, he fled with the remnant of his army to Alexandrium.

4. Gabinius, on his arrival at Alexandrium, finding many encamped, endeavoured, prior to the battle, by the promise of an amnesty for past offences, to draw them over to him; but, as there was no moderation in their views, he slaughtered great numbers, and shut up the remainder in the fortress. In this action the general Marc Antony, conspicuous as he had always been for valour, distinguished himself as he had not done heretofore. Gabinius, leaving a body of troops to reduce the fort, changed his quarters, with the design of re-establishing order in those cities that had been despoiled, and of rebuilding such as had been destroyed. Accordingly, and at his command, Scythopolis, as well as Samaria, and Anthedon, with Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Marissa, Adoreus, Gamala, and Azotus, and many others, were repeopled, inhabitants joyfully flocking to each.

5. After completing these arrangements, Gabinius returned to Alexandrium, and pressed the siege so closely, that Alexander despairing of his affairs, sent a herald to him, soliciting pardon for his offences, and surrendering the fortresses Hyrcanium and Machærus, of which he still held possession: he afterwards ceded Alexandrium also. All these Gabinius razed to the foundation, at the suggestion of Alexander's mother, that there might be nothing to encourage a second war. She had come for the purpose of pacifying Gabinius, being alarmed for the safety of the captives at Rome—her husband, and remaining children.

In the sequel, Gabinius having brought back Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed to him the guardianship of the temple, consigned the civil administration to the leading men. He divided the entire nation into five conventions: one of which he assigned to Jerusalem, the second to Gadara, and a third to Amathus: a fourth was allotted to Jericho, and the fifth to Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. With pleasure they beheld themselves liberated from the rule of an individual, and were thenceforward governed by an aristocracy.

6. They were, however, soon after involved in fresh disturbances

by Aristobulus, who, having escaped from Rome, again drew together a large body of Jews, some actuated by a desire for change, others by long-standing regard for him. His first exploit was to seize on Alexandrium, the fortifications of which he attempted to restore; but learning that Gabinius had despatched a force against him under the conduct of Sisenna, Antony, and Servilius, he retreated on Machærus. Here he disburthened himself of the useless crowd that attended him, retaining the armed alone, amounting to eight thousand, amongst whom was Pitholaus, who, when lieutenant, had deserted from Jerusalem with a thousand men.

Being pursued by the Romans, a general engagement took place. The contest was long and valiantly maintained by Aristobulus and his adherents; but they were at length overpowered by the Romans, and five thousand slain. About two thousand retired to a rising ground: Aristobulus, with the remaining thousand, having cut his way through the Roman phalanx, was driven into Machærus. Here the king having taken up his quarters the first evening among the ruins, began to hope, that, should hostilities be suspended for a little, he might raise another army; and he fortified the castle, though inadequately. But the Romans having assaulted the place, after holding out beyond his strength for two days, he was taken, and with his son Antigonus, who had shared his flight from Rome, was conducted in chains to Gabinius, and from Gabinius once more to Rome. The father was thrown into prison by the senate; but his children were transmitted to Judæa, Gabinius having signified by letter, that he had promised this favour to Aristobulus' wife in return for the surrender of the fortresses.

7. Gabinius, hastening on an expedition against the Parthians, met with an obstacle in Ptolemy, whom, on his return from the Euphrates, he brought back into Egypt. Hyrcanus and Antipater provided him with every requisite for the expedition, Antipater furnishing money, arms, corn, and auxiliaries. He further prevailed on the Jews in that quarter, who were guarding the passes at Pelusium, to allow free ingress to Gabinius. But as the other districts of Syria became disturbed on the departure of Gabinius, Alexander, son of Aristobulus, induced the Jews also once more to revolt, and, having drawn together a large force, he proceeded to a general massacre of the Romans in that country.

Alarmed at this, Gabinius, who hurried from Egypt on account of these disorders, and was already on the spot, despatched Antipater to various of the insurgents, and prevailed on them to lay down their arms. Thirty thousand, however, adhered to Alexander; and as that prince had no disinclination to decide the quarrel by the sword, the Romans took the field. The Jews advanced to meet them; and,

giving battle in the neighbourhood of mount Itabyrium, sustained a loss of ten thousand men. The rest of their army was scattered in flight. Gabinius now repaired to Jerusalem, where he re-established the government in conformity with the wishes of Antipater. From thence he marched against the Nabatæans, whom he defeated in a pitched battle. After the action he privately dismissed Mithridates and Orsanès, fugitives from Parthia; giving out among the soldiery that they had escaped.

8. In the mean time, Crassus, arriving as his successor, assumed the government of Syria, and to provide for his expedition against the Parthians, plundered the temple of Jerusalem of all its gold, including the two thousand talents from which Pompey had abstained. But scarcely had he passed the Euphrates, when he perished with his army. Of these events, however, the present is not a fitting season to speak.

9. The Parthians, after the disaster of Crassus, attempting to cross over into Syria, were driven back by Cassius, who had retreated into that quarter. Having made himself master of the province, he hastened to Judæa, and reducing Tarichæa, led thirty thousand Jews into captivity. At the instigation of Antipater, he put to death Pitholaus, who had joined the insurgents under Aristobulus. Antipater had espoused a lady of an illustrious Arabian family, whose name was Cypros, and by her he had four sons, Phasaëlus, Herod, afterwards king, Joseph, and Pheroras; and a daughter, Salome. Conciliating the principal persons in every quarter by kindness and hospitality, Antipater, by this matrimonial alliance, particularly bound to him the king of the Arabians; to whom, when entering on the war with Aristobulus, he committed the care of his children. Cassius, having by treaty compelled Alexander to remain quiet, returned to the Euphrates, to prevent the passage of the Parthians. But to these occurrences we shall advert in another place.

CHAPTER IX.

1. CÆSAR, on the flight of Pompey and the senate beyond the Ionian sea, being now master of Rome and the empire, released Aristobulus from his chains; and, giving him the command of two legions, despatched him with all haste into Syria, hoping by his means to obtain easy possession of that country, and the territory

around Judæa. But envy frustrated, alike, the zeal of Aristobulus, and the anticipations of Cæsar; for in fact he was carried off by poison, administered by Pompey's adherents; nor indeed did he soon find sepulture in his native country. The corpse lay preserved in honey, until sent by Antony to the Jews for burial in the royal sepulchres.

2. His son Alexander was also beheaded by Scipio at Antioch, in pursuance of an order sent by Pompey, and on an accusation of having acted injuriously toward the Romans, preferred against him at his tribunal. His brothers were taken charge of by Ptolemy, son of Mennæus, governor of Chalcis beneath Mount Lebanon, who sent his son Philippio for them to Ascalon. Philippio, in consequence, having withdrawn Antigonus and his sisters from the care of Aristobulus' widow, conducted them to his father. Becoming enamoured of the younger, he espoused her, and was afterwards on her account put to death by Ptolemy, who, after making away with his son, married Alexandra; an alliance which rendered him more attentive to the welfare of her brother and sister.

3. On the decease of Pompey, Antipater, changing his party, paid court to Cæsar; and as Mithridates of Pergamus had been excluded, with the forces he was leading into Egypt, from the passes at Pelusium, and was detained at Ascalon, he prevailed on the Arabians, whose guest he was, to lend their aid, while he himself advanced at the head of about three thousand Jewish troops. He also roused to arms in his support the chieftains of Syria, together with Ptolemy, who resided on Mount Lebanon, and Jamblichus; and by these the cities in that country were induced readily to take part in the war. Encouraged, at length, by the reinforcements brought to him by Antipater, Mithridates marched to Pelusium, and being denied a passage, laid siege to the town. In the assault, Antipater particularly distinguished himself; for having effected a breach in that quarter of the wall where he was stationed, he was the first to rush into the place at the head of his troops.

4. Yet, though Pelusium had fallen, the Egyptian Jews who inhabited the district called after Onias, resisted their advance. Antipater, however, prevailed on them not only to offer no opposition, but even to furnish supplies for the army. The people around Memphis, accordingly, so far from attacking, voluntarily joined Mithridates; who, making the circuit of the Delta, encountered the residue of the Egyptians at a place called the Jewish camp. That prince being, with the whole of his right wing, in jeopardy during the action, was rescued by Antipater, who, successful on the left where he com-

manded, had wheeled round, and, pushing along the banks of the river, fallen upon those who were pursuing Mithridates, and, having committed great slaughter among them, had pressed on the survivors so closely that he took their camp. His loss amounted only to eighty men, while that of Mithridates in the flight alone was about eight hundred. Preserved beyond expectation, he became to Cæsar an unquestionable witness, attesting the gallant conduct of Antipater.

5. Cæsar, by lavishing praises and exciting hopes, spurred Antipater to other perilous enterprises in his service. Foremost on all occasions in the conflict, he was covered with wounds which bore the tokens of his valour, in almost every part of his body. In return, Cæsar, on coming back into Syria after settling the affairs of Egypt, granted him the privileges of a Roman citizen, with exemption from tribute; and rendered him by other honours, and marks of friendship, an object of envv. He further, at his request, confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood.

CHAPTER X.

1. ABOUT this time, Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, having appeared before Cæsar, became, contrary to his intentions, the means of advancing Antipater to still higher honours. For, when he ought rather to have lamented his father's catastrophe, who had been poisoned, as was believed, on account of his quarrel with Pompey, and have complained of Scipio's cruelty to his brother, and not have mixed up feelings of jealousy with his cry for pity; instead of this, he came forward accusing Hyrcanus, and Antipater. They had, he said, with extreme injustice expelled himself and his sisters from their native country, and through wantonness had been guilty of many acts of oppression against the nation, and had, moreover, sent the reinforcement into Egypt, not from affection for him, but through fear of their ancient foe, and to counteract the effects of their friendship for Pompey.

2. On this, Antipater throwing aside his vest, exposed his numberless scars, and as to his regard for Cæsar, there was little need, he said, of words; for his body, even were he silent, would proclaim it aloud. He was astonished at the confidence of Antigonus, who, himself the son of an enemy of the Romans, and of a fugitive from their jurisdiction, and by inheritance a mover of innovation and sedition, yet

attempted to accuse others to the Roman Governor, looking for favours when he should be content with life. Nor was it so much from indigence that he coveted the government, as with the view of exciting insurrections among the Jews, and employing his resources against the donors.

3. Cæsar, having heard these statements, pronounced Hyrcanus to be the one most deserving of the high-priesthood; granting Antipater his choice of office. He, however, leaving the measure of honour to the decision of him from whom it was to be derived, was declared procurator of the whole of Judæa, with permission to restore the subverted fortifications of the metropolis. These honours Cæsar ordered to be engraved in the capitol, as a memorial of his own justice, and of Antipater's valour.

4. Having conducted Cæsar beyond the frontiers of Syria, Antipater returned to Judæa, where his first care was to rebuild the wall of the capital, which had been overthrown by Pompey. He then made a tour through the country, suppressing the tumults, while blending menaces with advice; and declaring, that, if they adhered to Hyrcanus, they would live in plenty and tranquillity, enjoying their own possessions, and the general peace; but, should they entertain the vain hopes suggested by those who for private gains were wishing to introduce innovation, they would find him their master, in place of their guardian, Hyrcanus a tyrant rather than a king, and the Romans and Cæsar, enemies, instead of governors and friends; for these would never suffer the man of their appointment to be dispossessed of the government. While he employed such language, he established order through the country by his personal authority, as he found Hyrcanus at once indolent, and wanting in the energy requisite for a king. He accordingly appointed Phasaëlus, his eldest son, military governor of Jerusalem and the territory around; and sent Herod, the next in age, and, though a mere youth, with equal authority, into Galilee.

5. Herod, of an active temperament, soon found matter suited to his turn of mind. Having overtaken Hezekiah, a brigand chief, who, at the head of a numerous band, had infested the districts adjoining to Syria, and made him prisoner, he put him to death, together with many of his adherents;—an exploit peculiarly gratifying to the Syrians. Songs were sung in consequence through the villages and in the towns, in praise of Herod, as one who had come among them for peace, and the security of their property. It was through this achievement that he became known to Sextus Cæsar, a kinsman of the great Cæsar, and president of Syria.

His brother's reputation awakened a generous rivalry in Phasaëlus.

who confirmed the people of Jerusalem in their allegiance, and though he had the city wholly under his own control, yet abstained from every indecent abuse of power. Hence Antipater was treated by the nation with the deference due to a sovereign, and honoured by all as if he were governor of the realm. Toward Hyrcanus, at the same time, he was deficient neither in affection nor loyalty.

6. Yet is it impossible, in prosperity, to escape the shafts of envy. The glory of the young men was already secretly corroding the heart of Hyrcanus; who was, however, more especially chagrined at the successes of Herod. While messenger after messenger arrived with tidings of the renown they were severally acquiring, there were many invidious persons at court, who, finding in the prudent conduct of Antipater and his sons, an obstacle to their designs, added fuel to the flame, and told him, that, abandoning to Antipater and his sons the direction of affairs, he sat down with the empty title of king, destitute of its authority. How long, said they, would he so far mistake his own interests, as to nourish those who would one day reign to his prejudice! For, no longer affecting to conceal their power, they openly assumed the mastery, thrusting him aside. And if Herod, without instructions from him, either oral or by letter, had, contrary to the law of the Jews, slaughtered so many, it was proper, that, unless indeed he were king, and no longer a subject, he should be arraigned to answer for his conduct to him, and to the laws of the country, which suffer no one to be put to death without a trial.

7. By these insinuations the mind of Hyrcanus became gradually inflamed, until at length, bursting with resentment, he summoned Herod to take his trial. By the advice of his father, and encouraged by the state of affairs, Herod repaired to Jerusalem, having first occupied Galilee with his garrisons. He went, however, with a strong escort, so that he might neither, by bringing an overwhelming force, appear as if he would dethrone Hyrcanus, nor fall himself an unprotected prey to envy. Sextus Cæsar, however, alarmed lest the young man, seized within their walls, might become a victim to the malice of his enemies, sent express orders to Hyrcanus, to clear Herod of the capital charge; and he being already, from motives of affection, disposed in his favour, acquitted him.

8. Herod, suspecting that he had escaped contrary to the king's wishes, withdrew to Sextus, who was then at Damascus, and stood ready to refuse obedience to any second summons. Again did ill-disposed persons exasperate Hyrcanus, stating that Herod had retired in anger, and was making preparations against him. The king, though crediting the story, knew not what measures to adopt, sensible that

he had to cope with too powerful an antagonist. But when Herod was appointed governor of Cœle-Syria and Samaria, by Sextus Cæsar, Hyrcanus, not only on account of the affection with which the young man was regarded by the nation, but from the formidable character of his authority, was seized with the deepest apprehension, expecting every moment that he would march an army against him.

9. Nor was he mistaken in this conjecture. For Herod, indignant at the threat of being arraigned, drew together a large force, and advanced to Jerusalem with a determination to dethrone him. And his purpose would speedily have been effected, had not his father and brother gone out to meet him, and restrained his impetuosity, entreating him to carry his revenge no farther than menace and intimidation; and to spare a monarch, under whom he had attained so great power. However he might be irritated at being brought to trial, he should yet be thankful for his acquittal, and not brood so deeply over his injuries, as to lose all sense of gratitude for his preservation. Besides, if we are to believe that God is the arbiter of the vicissitudes of war, the injustice of a cause might outweigh an army. He should not, therefore, be altogether so confident of success, when about to attack his sovereign and early associate, frequently his benefactor, but never his oppressor, except in so far as, at the suggestion of evil counsellors, he had threatened him with the shadow of injury. To these persuasives Herod yielded, deeming that the exhibition of his strength before the nation was sufficient for his prospects.

10. In the mean time disturbances, attended by civil war, broke out amongst the Romans at Apamia, Cecilius Bassus having, through regard for Pompey, assassinated Sextus Cæsar, and seized his government. To avenge the murder, Cæsar's other generals attacked Bassus at the head of their combined forces. To these Antipater, for the sake as well of the deceased, as of the surviving Cæsar, each his friend, sent a reinforcement under the orders of his sons. The contest being protracted, Murcus arrived from Italy as successor to Sextus,

CHAPTER XI.

1. ABOUT this time the Romans became embroiled in war on a great scale, owing to the death of Cæsar, who suddenly fell, through the treachery of Cassius and Brutus, after having held sovereign power three years and seven months. Scenes of the utmost disorder followed upon this murder: men in power forming themselves into factions, each embracing that party whence, as they conceived, they

should derive the greatest private advantage. Thus it was that Cassius repaired to Syria, to secure for himself the command of the troops stationed at Apamia. Here, having reconciled Murcus, and the opposing legions, to Bassus, and relieved Apamia from siege, he advanced at the head of his army, imposing tribute on the towns, and exacting contributions beyond the ability of these communities to furnish.

2. The Jews were directed to produce seven hundred talents, and Antipater, alarmed at the threats of Cassius, committed the collection of the money, that it might be done with all despatch, to his sons and to some of his acquaintances, and among others, to a certain Malichus, one of his adversaries—such was the necessity of the case. The first to soften Cassius was Herod, who brought, as his part, a hundred talents from Galilee; and he was in consequence numbered among his choicest friends, while the others Cassius upbraided for their tardiness, and was incensed against the cities. The people of Gophna, and Ammaus, as well as those of two towns of inferior note, he reduced to slavery; and was proceeding so far as to put Malichus to death on account of his dilatoriness in levying the contribution. Antipater, however, withheld him from this purpose, and saved also from destruction several of the other cities, by quickly soothing Cassius with a hundred talents.

3. But no sooner had Cassius withdrawn, than Malichus, forgetting the gratitude due to Antipater, and impatient to put out of the way an obstacle to his evil practices, formed a conspiracy against him who had so often been his preserver. Antipater, dreading the influence and intriguing character of the man, had crossed the Jordan for the purpose of assembling a force to protect himself against the conspiracy. Although detected, Malichus nevertheless by his effrontery overreached the sons of Antipater; for, having by many protestations and oaths cajoled Phasaëlus, governor of Jerusalem, and Herod, who had the custody of the arms, he prevailed on them to mediate for him with their father; and thus therefore was he again rescued from destruction by Antipater, who dissuaded Murcus, at that time prefect of Syria, from his purpose of putting him to death on the ground of his treasonable plots.

4. On the breaking out of the war between Cassius and Brutus on the one side, and the young Cæsar and Antony on the other, Cassius and Murcus levied an army in Syria; and as Herod had contributed a large proportion of the military supplies, they appointed him administrator of the entire country, placing under his orders a force of cavalry and infantry; Cassius promising to raise him to the throne of

Judæa on the cessation of hostilities. It happened, however, that the prowess and aspirations of his son proved the occasion of Antipater's destruction. For, Malichus thence taking alarm, bribed one of the royal cup-bearers to administer poison to him. Thus, a victim to the villany of Malichus, he expired after the banquet—a man of natural energy, and of great ability in setting forward public business, and who had recovered and preserved the government for Hyrcanus.

5. Malichus, being suspected in the affair of the poison, appeased the indignant populace by denial; and, conjecturing that Herod would not remain inactive, he strengthened himself by military levies. And in fact, Herod was soon in the field with an army to avenge his father; but being advised by his brother Phasaëlus not to bring Malichus openly to punishment, lest it might excite a popular tumult, he accepted his defence, and professed himself satisfied of his innocence. He then with great splendour celebrated his father's obsequies.

6. Samaria being rent by faction, Herod repairing thither, restored order in the city. From thence, at the festival, he returned to Jerusalem, attended by his troops: on which, Hyrcanus, at the solicitation of Malichus, who was alarmed at his approach, prohibited aliens from intruding on the people while performing their purifications. But Herod, treating with contempt, alike the subterfuge, and him from whom the order emanated, entered the town by night. Malichus again waited on him, and bewailed with tears the fate of Antipater. Herod dissembled in his turn, though with difficulty repressing his indignation; and by letter to Cassius, who for other reasons hated Malichus, deeply deplored his father's catastrophe. Cassius, in reply, wrote to him to punish the murderer, and gave private orders to the tribunes under his command, to aid Herod in his righteous enterprise.

7. When, on the capture of Laodicea by Cassius, the nobles assembled from all quarters, bearing gifts and crowns, Herod fixed on this as the season for vengeance. Malichus, who was not without his suspicions, on his arrival at Tyre resolved privately to withdraw his son, then a hostage with the Tyrians, while he himself prepared to escape into Judæa. Despair of safety, however, stimulated him to cherish still greater projects. He hoped that, while the war with Antony engrossed the attention of Cassius, he could excite the nation to revolt from the Romans, and that having deposed Hyrcanus—an easy task, he might himself ascend the throne.

8. But Fate mocked his hopes. Herod, foreseeing his purpose, invited him and Hyrcanus to supper; and having called one of the servants who was standing beside him, he sent him out as if to

prepare the entertainment, but in reality to direct the tribunes to repair to the ambuscade. Recollecting the orders they had received from Cassius, they proceeded to the sands in front of the city, armed with swords, and there, surrounding Malichus, dispatched him with numerous wounds. Hyrcanus instantly fainted through terror; and when with difficulty restored, he asked Herod who it was that had killed Malichus. One of the tribunes replying, "Cassius' command:" "Then has Cassius," said he, "saved both me and my country, by destroying a conspirator against both." Whether he actually thought so, or whether through fear he gave in to the deed, is uncertain. But thus it was that Herod avenged himself on Malichus.

CHAPTER XII.

1. On the departure of Cassius from Syria, fresh troubles broke out in Jerusalem, for Felix, with a military force, attacked Phasaëlus, in order to avenge on Herod, through his brother, the death of Malichus. Herod happened at this juncture to be with Fabius, the Roman general, at Damascus, and, though impatient to aid his kinsman, was detained by illness. In the mean time Phasaëlus, unaided having overcome his adversary, upbraided Hyrcanus with ingratitude in espousing the cause of Felix, and permitting Malichus's brother to possess himself of the fortresses; many of which he had already seized, and among them, Masada, the strongest of them all.

2. Little, however, did this avail him against the arms of Herod: who, on his restoration to health, retook the other strongholds, and dismissed him from Masada, a suppliant. He likewise expelled from Galilee Marion, the despot of Tyre, who had lately seized on three fortresses. The Tyrians, who fell into his hands, he spared without exception; and some he even sent away with presents: thus laying the foundation, among the citizens, at once, of good will to himself, and of hatred to the tyrant. Marion had been invested with his authority by Cassius, who had partitioned the whole of Syria into principalities. Enmity to Herod had led him to associate with himself Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, and the more willingly from respect for Fabius, whom Antigonus had induced by a sum of money to aid in his restoration. Antigonus was supplied with every thing he required by his kinsman Ptolemy.

3. Against these Herod drew up his forces in the passes leading into Judæa; and proving victorious in the conflict, he compelled

Antigonus to retire, and returned to Jerusalem, endeared to all by this exploit. Those who had not previously been attached to his party now ranged themselves on his side, by reason of his alliance with Hyrcanus. For he had, prior to this, married a lady of a noble family, a native of Judæa, by name Doris, who bore him Antipater. He then betrothed himself to Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, and grand-daughter of Hyrcanus; thus becoming related to the king.

4. After the fall of Cassius at Philippi, the victors took their departure—Cæsar for Italy, Antony for Asia. The latter, while in Bithynia, was waited on by embassies from many several states, as likewise by the nobles of the Jews, who accused Phasaëlus and Herod of retaining forcible possession of the government, and leaving to Hyrcanus a mere name of honour. Herod appeared to answer the charge; but so effectually had he secured by valuable presents the support of Antony, that that officer would not so much as listen to the complaints of his enemies. And thus for the time they were dismissed.

5. On another occasion a hundred Jewish officials waited upon Antony, then at Daphne in the vicinity of Antioch, and already the slave of his passion for Cleopatra; and putting forward those most distinguished for rank and eloquence, preferred an accusation against the brothers. The defence was undertaken by Messala, Hyrcanus countenancing it, because of the alliance subsisting between them. Having heard both parties, Antony inquired from Hyrcanus who was best qualified to govern. He replied, Herod and his brothers; an answer which gratified Antony, who had formerly been their father's guest, having been hospitably entertained by Antipater, when he accompanied Gabinius to Judæa. He, accordingly, created the brothers tetrarchs, committing the whole of Judæa to their superintendence.

6. The ambassadors expressing their displeasure, he seized and imprisoned fifteen, intending to lead them to execution: the remainder he drove indignantly from his presence. This excited still greater disturbances in Jerusalem, and a second embassy of a thousand persons was sent to Tyre, where Antony had made some delay on his march to Jerusalem. Against these, who had raised an outcry, he despatched the governor of Tyre, with directions to punish all who fell into his hands, and to confirm in the administration the tetrarchs whom he had appointed.

7. Prior to this, however, Herod and Hyrcanus had gone out to them on the shore, and earnestly entreated them not to involve

themselves in ruin, or their country in war, by their rash contentions. But as they became only the more outrageous, Antony ordered a body of troops against them, and killed and wounded many: of whom the former were interred, and the latter carefully attended to, by Hyrcanus. Those who fled still continuing riotous, and disturbing the town, so exasperated Antony, that he put the prisoners to death.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. Two years after, Syria having fallen under the dominion of Barzapharnes the Parthian Satrap, and of Pacorus the king's son, Lysanias, who had recently succeeded to the crown, on the demise of his father Ptolemy, son of Mennæus, prevailed on the Satrap, by the promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to depose Hyrcanus, and raise Antigonus to the throne. Lured by this offer, Pacorus proceeded along the sea-coast, directing Barzapharnes to penetrate through the interior. Of the maritime towns, Tyre closed its gates against Pacorus, Ptolemais and Sidon admitting him. Having delivered a squadron of cavalry to one of the royal cup-bearers of his own name, he ordered him to advance into Judæa, to ascertain the state of the enemies' affairs, and, as occasion should require, to assist Antigonus.

2. While they were ravaging Carmel, the Jews flocked in crowds to Antigonus, and professed their readiness to act on the offensive. He sent them forward, accordingly, to take possession of a place called Drymus. Here a battle ensued, which, terminating in their favour, they pursued their adversaries to Jerusalem; and, their numbers increasing, they pressed on to the palace. Here they were received by Hyrcanus and Phasaëlus with a strong detachment, and a violent conflict ensued at the market place, where they were routed by Herod's adherents, who having shut them up in the temple, stationed sixty men as a guard over them, in the adjoining buildings. These, the populace, disaffected towards the brothers, attacked and burned to death, which so enraged Herod, that he turned his arms against them, and put many to the sword; and, a daily warfare being maintained by detached parties, the slaughter was uninterrupted.

3. The festival called Pentecost approaching, the various places around the temple, and the whole of the city, were crowded with multitudes from the country, for the most part armed. The wall

being guarded by Phasaëlus, Herod, who, with a small body, protected the palace, rushed on his opponents, now in disorder, at the north quarter, and, having slaughtered great numbers, put the rest to flight: shutting up some in the city, some in the temple, and others within the outer rampart.

In the mean time, Antigonus requested that Pacorus might be admitted as mediator; and Phasaëlus was induced to receive into the city, and to his hospitality, the Parthian, with five hundred horse, he having come ostensibly to put an end to the insurrection, though in reality as an ally to Antigonus. In pursuance of his object, Pacorus insidiously prevailed on Phasaëlus to undertake an embassy to Barzapharnes, in order to negotiate a cessation of hostilities, though strongly dissuaded by Herod, who exhorted him to despatch the conspirator, and not to throw himself into his snare, alleging that the Barbarians are naturally perfidious. The better to avoid suspicion, Pacorus retired with Hyrcanus; and, leaving with Herod some of the horse called "the Freemen," he, with the remainder, escorted Phasaëlus.

4. On their arrival in Galilee they found the inhabitants armed and in revolt; but with a high degree of subtlety they waited on the Satrap, and requested that he would veil the conspiracy under an affable exterior. He, accordingly, dismissed them with presents, but stationed a party in ambush for them upon their route. On reaching one of the maritime towns called Ecdippon, they became sensible of the treachery; for there they heard of the promise of a thousand talents, and of Antigonus having devoted the greater number of the women with them, as part of the five hundred whom he was to send to the Parthians, and of their being invariably watched during the night by the Barbarians; and that long ere now they would have been seized, had not the conspirators waited to make a prior capture of Herod in Jerusalem, afraid that, should he gain intelligence of their design, he would secure himself against them. Nor was this a mere idle rumour, for they could already see the guards at a distance.

5. Phasaëlus, though earnestly entreated by Ophellius to make his escape, to whom the whole arrangement of the plot had been communicated by Saramalla, the most opulent man in Syria, could not prevail upon himself to desert Hyrcanus; but going up to the Satrap he reproached him to his face with the conspiracy, and particularly with having acted the part he did from mercenary motives. He pledged himself, withal, to give him a larger sum for his life, than Antigonus had promised for the kingdom. To this the wily Parthian replied with apologies and protestations, in order to lull his suspicions,

and proceeded to join Pacorus. Instantly the Parthians who remained behind, agreeably to orders received, seized Phasaëlus and Hyrcanus, cursing their other crimes, in addition to their perjury and perfidy.

6. Meanwhile the cup-bearer, who had been despatched with instructions to draw Herod, under some pretext, outside the walls, and seize him, was using his endeavours to carry his orders into execution. But Herod, who had from the first suspected the Barbarians, and who had just at that moment heard that the letters informing him of the intended treachery had fallen into the hands of his foes, refused to quit the spot, though Pacorus in a highly plausible strain urged it as his duty to meet the bearers of the documents, which, he asserted, had neither been intercepted by his opponents, nor contained accounts of any conspiracy; but merely a detail of Phasaëlus's proceedings. He had learned, however, from other sources, that his brother had been seized. Added to this, Mariamne, daughter of Hyrcanus, a woman of remarkable penetration, had waited on him to entreat him not to go out, or trust himself to the Barbarians, now openly planning his destruction.

7. But, whilst Pacorus and his party were deliberating by what means they might secretly effect their purpose, as it was impossible overtly to circumvent a man of such sagacity, Herod, with a few of his most intimate friends, withdrew by night to Idumæa, unobserved by his enemies. The Parthians, discovering his flight, pursued; while he, directing his mother and sister, and the girl to whom he was betrothed, with her mother and his youngest brother, to proceed on their journey, aided by his attendants, cautiously kept the Barbarians at bay; and, having cut down many in every encounter, he reached the fortress of Masada.

8. The Jews, whom during his retreat he had found more troublesome than the Parthians, and who had been a source of constant annoyance, brought him to action at the distance of sixty furlongs from the city, and for a considerable time maintained a regular engagement; but they were eventually defeated with great slaughter. Here, to commemorate his success, Herod subsequently built a fortress, which he adorned with royal magnificence; and, having defended it with a citadel of remarkable strength, he called it after himself, Herodium. Being thenceforward daily joined by numbers of fugitives, he was advised by his brother Joseph, who met him at Thessa in Idumæa, to disencumber himself of a great part of his followers, Masada being unable to contain such a crowd; amounting, as they did, to upwards of nine thousand. In compliance with this suggestion, Herod dismissed through Idumæa those who were unequal

to the emergency, supplying them with provisions. The choicest and most robust he retained, and reached the fortress in safety. Leaving here a guard of eight hundred to protect the women, with magazines sufficient for a siege, he hastened to Petra in Arabia.

9. In Jerusalem, meanwhile, the Parthians, proceeding to the work of pillage, attacked the houses of the fugitives, and the palace; refraining alone from the treasure of Hyrcanus, which, however, did not exceed three hundred talents. Of that of the adverse party they discovered less than they had hoped; for Herod, who had long suspected treachery from the Barbarians, had taken the precaution to remove the most costly of his effects into Idumæa, his partisans in general following his example. But to such a pitch of licentiousness did the Parthians proceed after the pillage, that they filled the whole country with implacable warfare. They laid in ruins the city of Marissa, and not only declared Antigonus king, but even delivered up to him Phasaëlus and Hyrcanus in fetters, to be tortured. Antigonus, on this occasion, personally assaulted Hyrcanus, and bit off his ears, in order to disqualify him, under any change of circumstances, from resuming the high priesthood; those free from blemish being alone eligible to that dignity.

10. He was, however, foiled by the fortitude of Phasaëlus, who, when denied the use of sword or hands, anticipated his cruelty by dashing his head against a stone. Having thus proved himself Herod's genuine brother, and Hyrcanus the most abject of men, he died a noble death, closing his career in a manner befitting his deeds in life. A report of another kind also prevails:—that he recovered from the contusion, and that a physician, sent by Antigonus as if to attend him, filling the wound with poisonous drugs, killed him. But whichever of these be true, the story rests on a fact which does him credit. It is likewise related, that before he expired, being informed by a woman of the escape of Herod, he exclaimed, “Now I depart cheerfully, since I leave behind me one who will avenge my wrongs.”

11. Such was the end of Phasaëlus. The Parthians, though disappointed as to the women, the chief object of their desire, committed the administration of affairs in Jerusalem to Antigonus, and led away Hyrcanus a prisoner to Parthia.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. HEROD, spurred on by the impression that his brother was still alive, prosecuted his journey into Arabia with the greater expedition, in order to obtain money from the king, by which alone he hoped to conciliate the avarice of the Barbarians in behalf of Phasaëlus. For he purposed, should the Arabian be too unmindful of the friendship which had subsisted between him and his father, or too niggardly to assist him with a gift, to borrow from him the ransom, leaving in pledge the son of the ransomed. He accordingly took with him his nephew, seven years of age, and, putting forward the Tyrians as mediators, professed his readiness to give three hundred talents.

Fate, however, had anticipated his haste: Phasaëlus had died, and Herod's fraternal solicitude was in vain. He found, too, that he was no longer regarded with affection by the Arabians; and as an instance, their king, Malichus, forwarded peremptory injunctions to him instantly to quit his territories, under pretence of having received a public notification from the Parthians to expel Herod from Arabia; while in reality he had resolved neither to pay the money due to Antipater; nor to be forced by a sense of shame arising from the recollection of his father's benefits, to assist his children in the hour of their need. His advisers in this shameful affair were the most powerful men in his kingdom, who, like himself, were desirous of converting to their own use the property entrusted to them by Antipater.

2. Herod, finding the Arabians inimical, and that for the very reasons which had led him to expect their warmest friendship, replied to the messengers as his feelings dictated, and turned toward Egypt. The first evening he abode in one of the temples of the country, to await the arrival of those left in the rear. Next day as he was approaching Rhinocurura, intelligence of his brother's death was brought to him. Having indulged such sorrow as became the occasion, he dismissed his grief, and continued his journey. The Arabian, meanwhile, too late repenting his conduct, despatched messengers with all speed to recall his insulted visitor; but Herod outstripped them, having already arrived at Pelusium.

Being refused a passage by the fleet on that station, he applied to the authorities; and they, from respect for his fame and exalted rank, conducted him to Alexandria. On entering the city, he was received with every mark of honour by Cleopatra; who hoped that he would assume the command of an expedition which she was fitting out. But,

rejecting the Queen's overtures, and deterred neither by the circumstance that it was the depth of winter, nor by the disturbed state of affairs in Italy, he set sail for Rome.

3. Being in danger near Pamphilia, he with difficulty, and after throwing out the greater part of the cargo, reached Rhodes; which had suffered severely in the war with Cassius. Here he was kindly received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sapphinius, and having, though in want of money, fitted out a trireme of the largest class, he and his party embarked in it for Brundisium, whence he hastened to Rome. His first care was to wait on Antony, because of the friendship which had subsisted between him and his father; and before him he laid the misfortunes of himself and his family: adding, that he had left his nearest relations under siege in a fortress, and had sailed, notwithstanding the season, to implore his aid.

4. So deeply was Antony touched with compassion for his altered fortunes, and by the recollection of Antipater's hospitality, but particularly by the heroic virtues of the individual before him, that he instantly determined on raising to the throne of Judæa the man whom he had previously made tetrarch. To this, he was influenced, not less by regard for Herod, than by aversion to Antigonus, whom he looked upon as at once seditious, and inimical to the Romans. He found Cæsar, however, still more ready to espouse his cause; bearing in remembrance, as he did, the expeditions which, in company with his father, Antipater had led against Egypt, his hospitality, and kindness on all occasions, and discerning withal the enterprising temper of Herod. He accordingly convened the senate; when Messala, who was followed by Atratinus, advocated the claims of Herod, expatiating on his father's becoming conduct, and his own good feeling towards the Romans, proving, at the same time, that Antigonus was their foe, not only from his quarrel a short time before, but from his recent acceptance of the crown from the Parthians, in contempt of the Romans. These observations producing their effect on the senate, Antony stepped forward, and remarking, that, in their approaching war with Parthia, it would be for their advantage that Herod should be a sovereign prince, the vote passed unanimously. The assembly being dissolved, Antony and Cæsar, Herod being between them, went out, preceded by the consuls, and the other magistrates, to offer sacrifices, and lay up the decree in the capitol. On this, the first day of his reign, Herod was entertained by Antony.

CHAPTER XV.

1. DURING this interval Antigonus had been besieging those who occupied Masada, and who, though amply supplied with other necessities, were in want of water. Joseph, Herod's brother, therefore, with two hundred of his personal attendants, planned an escape into Arabia, having heard that Malichus regretted his injurious treatment of Herod. And he would at once have left the fortress, had there not happened an abundant rain on the very night fixed for his departure. The reservoirs being thus replenished, the necessity for flight was obviated. The garrison now sallied out against the forces of Antigonus, and partly in open conflict, partly by ambuscades, destroyed great numbers. They were not, however, invariably successful, being themselves occasionally defeated and driven back.

2. In the mean time Ventidius the Roman general, being despatched from Syria to hold the Parthians in check, had advanced in pursuit of them into Judæa; ostensibly to succour Joseph and his party, but in reality to extort money from Antigonus. Having, accordingly, encamped in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, and satiated his avarice, he retired with the greater part of his troops; leaving Silo, however, with a small division, that he might not expose his corruption by withdrawing the entire army. Antigonus, who still hoped that the Parthians would again come to his assistance, had, meanwhile, been paying court to Silo, lest he should throw any obstacle in the way of his expectations.

3. Herod, having already made the voyage from Italy to Ptolemais, and collected a considerable force of foreign and native levies, marched through Galilee to oppose Antigonus, Ventidius and Silo cooperating; Dellius, an emissary of Antony, having prevailed on them to aid in the restoration of Herod. Ventidius was at this juncture employed in composing the disturbances excited by the Parthians in the different towns, while Silo, corrupted by Antigonus's largesses, still loitered in Judæa. Nor was Herod himself deficient in strength, his army having received daily accessions during his progress, and the whole of Galilee, with partial exceptions, having declared in his favour.

But his most urgent call, and that which demanded his earliest attention, was Masada, and the liberation of his relatives from siege. Joppa, however, presented an obstacle; for this being hostile, it was necessary first to reduce it, in order that, on his advance to Jerusalem, no fortress might be left in occupation of the enemy in his rear.

Silo, moreover, gladly proceeded to form a junction with him, having found a pretext for changing sides; and being hotly pursued by the Jews, Herod sallied out with a small party, and quickly putting them to flight, rescued him when scarce able to defend himself.

4. Having next taken Joppa, he hastened to Masada to liberate his relatives, numbers of the inhabitants joining him, some from regard for the memory of his father, others on account of his own reputation, a few in return for favours conferred by both; but the great majority by their expectations from him, as one securely seated on the throne. An unwieldy force was now assembled; and as he advanced, Antigonus laid ambuscades for him in the most suitable defiles, but with little or no injury to the enemy. Herod having obtained easy possession of his relations in Masada, and of the fortress of Ressa, marched to Jerusalem; where he was joined by the troops under Silo, and by many of the citizens, who were alarmed at his strength.

5. Having encamped on the western side of the city, his forces were assailed by the guards in that quarter with arrows and darts, whilst others, sallying out in companies, attacked his vanguard. He now, as a first step, directed it to be proclaimed around the ramparts, that he was there for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not for the punishment even of his avowed enemies, to the most inveterate of whom he tendered an amnesty. But when the adherents of Antigonus, raising a counter-clamour, permitted none either to hear the heralds, or change sides, as the next step he ordered his troops to drive back those on the wall, and they quickly expelled the whole of them from the towers, with missiles.

6. Here Silo's corruption was unmasked. For, having instructed a numerous body of his soldiers to raise an outcry about a scarcity, to demand money for the purchase of provisions, and to require him moreover, to lead them to suitable winter quarters, the country around the city having been reduced to a desert by the rapacity of Antigonus's adherents, he broke up his camp, and made an attempt to retire. But Herod, presenting himself before the Roman officers and a large assemblage of the troops, besought them not to abandon him, commissioned as he had been by Cæsar, Antony, and the senate; for that very day should relieve their wants. Having addressed them in this strain, he instantly hastened into the country, and there obtained such abundant supplies that Silo was left without the shadow of excuse: while, to guard against any deficiency in future, he directed the inhabitants of Samaria, which city had attached itself to his interests, to bring corn, wine, oil, and cattle, down to Jericho.

Hearing of this, Antigonus sent orders through the country to

obstruct and to waylay the foragers. In obedience to these injunctions, large bodies of armed men were assembled above Jericho, and sat down among the mountains to watch those who carried the supplies. Herod, meanwhile, was not inactive; but, taking with him ten cohorts, of which five were Roman, and five Jewish, intermixed with mercenaries, and strengthened by a detachment of horse, he advanced to Jericho. The town he found deserted; but five hundred men, with their wives and children, occupied the citadel. These he made prisoners, and released. The other quarters of the city, which were well stored with a variety of valuables, were rifled by the Romans. Leaving a garrison in Jericho, the king returned, and sent the Roman army to winter among the neighbouring states, Idumæa, Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus, to ingratiate himself with Antony, induced Silo by a bribe to admit a division of his troops into Lydda.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. THE Romans now lived in abundance, and reposed from arms. Herod, however, was not inactive, but occupied Idumæa, with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse; having despatched his brother Joseph into that quarter, lest there should be any insurrectionary movement in favour of Antigonus. His mother, and those of his relations whom he had liberated from Masada, he removed into Samaria; and having there placed them in safety, he marched to reduce the remaining fortresses of Galilee, and expel the garrisons of Antigonus.

2. He reached Sepphoris during a very heavy snow-storm, and took possession of it without opposition: the guards having abandoned it previous to the assault. Here, provisions being extremely plentiful, and having refreshed his troops, who were suffering from the tempest, he turned his arms against the banditti in the caves, who harassed a wide range of country, and inflicted on the inhabitants evils not inferior to those of war. Having sent forward three cohorts of infantry and a troop of cavalry to the village of Arbela, he repaired thither in person with the rest of his army, at the expiration of forty days. Nowise daunted at his approach, his opponents, who possessed at once military skill and brigand daring, met him in arms. A battle ensued; when Herod's left wing being driven back by their right, he suddenly wheeled round from his own right, and came to its relief; and not

only prevented the further retreat of his troops, but falling on their pursuers, checked their advance, till, unable to withstand the close encounter, they gave way.

3. He chased them with slaughter to the Jordan, and put great part of them to the sword. The residue being dispersed beyond the river, Galilee was delivered from its apprehensions; except what those might occasion who were left lurking in the caves, and whose reduction demanded time. He now bestowed on his soldiers first the fruits of their toils, distributing to each a hundred and fifty drachmas of silver, and then despatched a much larger sum for the officers, severally, to their winter quarters. He directed Pheroras, his youngest brother, to provide an abundant market for them, and to fortify Alexandrium: instructions which were duly attended to.

4. In the mean time while Antony was delaying at Athens, Ventidius summoned Silo and Herod to the war against the Parthians; enjoining them first to settle affairs in Judæa. Herod gladly dismissed Silo to Ventidius, while he himself marched against the banditti in the caves. To these caves, opening on the face of mountain precipices, there was no direct access; the sole approach being by transverse and extremely narrow ascents. The rock forming their front extended downward into ravines of prodigious depth, and sloped towards precipitous chasms; so that the king remained for a considerable time in doubt, owing to the difficulties of the place; and had recourse at length to a most hazardous contrivance. By ropes he let down in chests the strongest of his men, and thus gave them access to the mouths of the caves: these slaughtered the banditti and their families, throwing fire in upon those who resisted.

Anxious to save a few, Herod summoned them to come out to him. Not one, however, voluntarily surrendered; and of those forcibly taken alive, many preferred death to captivity. On this occasion, an old man, the father of seven children, being entreated by them and their mother to allow them to go out under this pledge of protection, killed them in the following manner. Having ordered them to come forward one by one, he stationed himself at the entrance, and slew them as they severally advanced. Herod, looking on from an eminence which commanded the spot, was overpowered by his feelings, and extended his right hand to the old man, imploring him to spare his offspring. But he, unmoved by his entreaties, and even upbraiding Herod for his abject spirit, slaughtered his children, and finally his wife; and casting their dead bodies down the precipice, he ended by throwing himself headlong after them.

5. Herod having thus mastered the caves and their inmates, leaving

behind under the command of Ptolemy such portion of his troops as he deemed sufficient to repress insurrection, returned to Samaria, conducting three thousand foot, and six hundred horse against Antigonus. Scarcely had he withdrawn, however, when those whose custom it had been to disturb Galilee, regaining confidence, fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy, his general, and, having slain him, laid waste the country, retiring into the marshes and other places difficult of search. Hearing of this revolt, Herod immediately marched to the relief, and having destroyed vast numbers of the malecontents, reduced by siege all their fortresses, and, for their inconstancy, imposed on his enemies a fine of a hundred talents.

6. The Parthians being now expelled, and Pacorus having fallen, Ventidius, by Antony's directions, despatched a thousand horse and two legions, to aid Herod in his contest with Antigonus, who, on his part, wrote to Machæras, their commander, requesting his assistance for himself, and complaining vehemently, as well of Herod's habitual violence, as of the injuries he had personally sustained, and promising him money. Unwilling, however, to show contempt for him whose commission he bore, Machæras declined to act the traitor, the rather as he was more amply remunerated by Herod; but, pretending friendship, he went to visit Antigonus, as a spy on his affairs, though contrary to the dissuasions of Herod. Antigonus, sensible of his design, refused him admittance into the city, and assailed him from the walls as an enemy. Machæras, at length covered with shame, retired to Ammaus, where Herod then was, butchering, in the exasperation of disappointment, every Jew that fell in his way, not sparing even the Herodians, but treating all as the partisans of Antigonus.

7. Incensed at this conduct, Herod was on the point of dealing with Machæras as a foe; but repressing his resentment, he hastened to lay before Antony a statement of his delinquencies. Machæras, reflecting on his offences, instantly followed the king, and by urgent entreaties effected a reconciliation with him. Herod, notwithstanding, persevered in his resolution of waiting upon Antony; and learning that he was then with a large force besieging Samosata, a town of strength near the Euphrates, he pushed forward more rapidly, deeming the occasion auspicious for displaying his valour, and rendering himself more acceptable to Antony. Scarcely had he arrived, when he brought the siege to a conclusion, having slaughtered numbers of the Barbarians, and secured a considerable booty; so that Antony, who had long admired his intrepidity, now viewed it with still higher respect, and, to the honours already heaped on him, added many others, and confirmed his expectations of the sovereignty; while king Antiochus was compelled to deliver up Samosata.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. IN the mean time Herod's affairs in Judæa had become embarrassed. He had left his brother Joseph in charge of the government, directing him to attempt nothing against Antigonus until his return; since Machæras, from his former conduct, seemed not an ally to be depended on. No sooner, however, had Joseph learned that his brother was at a distance, than, regardless of his injunctions, he marched towards Jericho with the five cohorts which Machæras had sent with him, in order to seize the crop, as it was now the middle of harvest. Being attacked by his opponents among the mountains, and in difficult passes, he fell, having nobly proved his valour in the fight, and with him perished the whole Roman force; for the cohorts had been recently levied in Syria, and were without any intermixture of veterans, who might have supported their inexperienced comrades.

2. But, not satisfied with victory, Antigonus was so hurried away with passion as to offer indignities to Joseph's corpse. Having possession of the bodies of the slain, he cut off his head, though fifty talents were tendered as a ransom for it by his brother Pheroras. So revolutionized was Galilee after this victory of Antigonus, that his adherents seized the men of rank, who were attached to the opposite party, and drowned them in the lake. Many changes took place also in Idumæa, where Machæras was rebuilding the walls of a fortress called Githa. Of none of these things, however, had Herod yet heard; for after the capture of Samosata, Antony, having given Sosius the command in Syria, with orders to support Herod against Antigonus, had taken his departure for Egypt. Sosius accordingly despatched two legions before him into Judæa, as auxiliaries to Herod, and soon after followed in person with the remainder of his army.

3. When Herod was at Daphne, near Antioch, he had dreams distinctly warning him of his brother's death, and, as he sprang agitated from the bed, the messengers entered with tidings of the catastrophe. Having for a little indulged his feelings by lamentations, he deferred the farther expression of his grief, and hastened against his opponents. After a march, harassing almost beyond human strength, he arrived at Lebanon; and receiving a reinforcement of eight hundred men, who lived around the mountain, he united with them a Roman legion. With these, not waiting for the approach of day, he advanced into Galilee, driving back to their former position such as attempted to oppose him.

He then maintained a persevering attack upon their post, but, ere he could reduce it, he was compelled by the extreme severity of the winter to encamp in the neighbouring villages. Here he was joined, in a few days, by the second legion despatched by Antony to his assistance, on which the enemy, alarmed at his strength, under cover of night evacuated the castle.

4. Using all possible expedition to overtake his brother's murderers, Herod advanced through Jericho. Here he experienced a miraculous interposition of Providence, by which, being preserved beyond all hope, he acquired the reputation of a peculiar favourite of Heaven. Many of those in authority having supped with him that evening, the entertainment scarcely had concluded, and the company withdrawn, when the house fell in ruins. Deeming this an omen, as well of his dangers, as of his preservation during the approaching campaign, he put his troops in motion at daybreak. About six thousand of the enemy poured down from the mountains, and attacked the advanced guard, but not having sufficient courage to come to close quarters with the Romans, they assailed them from a distance with stones and darts, and wounded many. On this occasion, Herod himself, while riding along the lines, was wounded in the side by a javelin.

5. Antigonus, ambitious of the reputation of possessing not only a more valiant, but a more numerous army than Herod, detached Pappus, one of his associates, with a strong force into Samaria, to act against Machæras. Herod, meanwhile, employing himself in ravaging the enemy's territory, reduced five small towns, and having put two thousand of their inhabitants to the sword, he set fire to the houses, and returned to his camp. His tent was pitched at a village called Cana.

6. The Jews now flocked to him daily in crowds, as well from Jericho itself, as from other quarters; some moved by hatred of Antigonus, others influenced by his own successes, but the greater proportion by an inordinate desire of change. Herod, eager to engage, was met by the troops of Pappus, who alarmed neither by the numbers, nor ardour of their adversaries, advanced with alacrity. An action ensuing, the enemy made a brief stand where Herod was not personally engaged; but he, maddened by the murder of his brother, and braving every danger if only he might be avenged on the perpetrators, quickly routed all opposed to him; and, ever directing his attack against those who kept their ground, he put the whole to flight. The havoc was great; the one party flying in a confused mass into the village whence they had sallied, and the other pressing on their rear, and slaughtering them in countless multitudes.

Herod rushed into the town together with his foes; there every house was crowded with armed men, while the roofs were thronged with soldiers, who from their higher position still maintained defence. Having defeated those outside, he tore the buildings to pieces, and dragged out those within. On very many he shook down the roofs, and they perished in a mass; while the soldiers received on their swords those who were escaping from the ruins: and such were the heaps of dead, that the roads were impassable to the victors. This blow was too much for the enemy. As soon, therefore, as the multitudes who had crowded together beheld the slaughter in the village, they fled in every direction. Flushed with this victory, Herod would instantly have pushed on to Jerusalem, had not the extreme inclemency of the winter proved an obstacle to the completion of his success, and the overthrow of Antigonus, who was already meditating a retreat from the capital.

7. In the evening, Herod, having dismissed his comrades to refresh themselves after their fatigues, still warm from arms, retired to enjoy the bath, with all the carelessness of a common soldier, for only a single slave attended him. Before he entered the bath, one of the enemy ran out towards him with a drawn sword, then a second, a third, and others in succession. They had fled from the conflict, armed, to the building. Until then they had lain concealed there in a state of the utmost agitation, but when they saw the king, unnerved with terror, they ran trembling past him, unarmed though he was, and made for the passages leading outward. As fortune would have it, there was no one present to seize them, and it sufficed Herod to have sustained no injury; so that they all escaped.

8. Next day he cut off the head of Pappus, Antigonus' general, who had been killed in the action, and sent it to Pheroras, as a satisfaction for the blood of their murdered brother; for by his hand had Joseph fallen. The rigour of winter having abated, Herod hastened to Jerusalem—the third year now advancing since he had been declared king in Rome—and leading his forces up to the ramparts, encamped before the Temple: for on that quarter it was assailable, and through it had Pompey, on a former occasion, captured the city. Dividing his army for the execution of the works, he levelled the suburbs, and raising three mounds, ordered towers to be erected on them. Leaving the most efficient of his comrades to superintend these labours, he proceeded to Samaria, to meet the daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, to whom, as we have stated, he had been affianced. And, already despising his antagonists, he made his nuptials an interlude to the siege.

9. After his marriage he returned to Jerusalem with a more effective

force; and here Sosius joined him with a formidable body of horse and foot, which that officer had sent forward through the interior, while he himself took the route of Phœnicia. The entire army, amounting to eleven battalions of infantry, and six thousand cavalry, exclusive of the Syrian auxiliaries, who formed no inconsiderable part of his force, being now assembled, encamped near the north wall: Herod confiding in the decree of the senate, which constituted him king; and Sosius in Antony, who had despatched him, with the army under his command, to the support of Herod.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. THROUGHOUT the city, meanwhile, the minds of the Jewish populace were variously agitated. Congregated round the temple, the more feeble pronounced him happy, and more the favourite of heaven, who had reached his end in happier times; while the more daring, now that sustenance remained neither for horses nor men, forming themselves into bands, committed every species of depredation, laying waste chiefly the immediate vicinage of the town. Of those capable of bearing arms, however, the better trained, who were appointed to repel the besiegers, from the walls endeavoured to check those who raised the mounds, and constantly invented some new device wherewith to impede the engines. But in nothing so much as in their mines did they excel their adversaries.

2. To repress the predatory sallies the king contrived ambuscades; while to relieve the wants of the army, he took measures for procuring supplies from a distance. By the military skill of the Romans he proved superior in every conflict, though his opponents displayed the very excess of courage. The Jews did not indeed openly encounter their antagonists, for that would have been certain death; but by the aid of mines they appeared suddenly in the midst of them, and before one part of the wall was battered down, another barrier was reared in its stead. In a word, they flagged neither in courage nor ingenuity, resolved to hold out to the last. In fine, though surrounded by such a force, during five months they sustained the siege; until some of the flower of Herod's army gallantly scaled the wall, and rushed into the city, followed by Sosius' centurions.

The avenues of the Temple were first secured, and the troops pouring in, a dreadful massacre everywhere ensued; the Romans exasperated by the length of the siege, and the Jews of Herod's party

labouring to exterminate every opponent. Multitudes were butchered in the narrow streets, crowded together in the houses, and flying to the sanctuary. Compassion for infancy, for age, or even for woman's helplessness, there was none. Though the king sent in all directions entreating them to spare, none could withhold his hand, but, like men infuriate, they assailed old and young; insomuch that Antigonus, equally regardless of his former and present dignity, descended from the citadel, and threw himself at the feet of Sosius. But the Roman, nothing pitying his reverse of fortune, laughed at him immoderately, and called him Antigona. He did not, however, dismiss him as a woman, and exempt from guard, but detained him in bonds.

3. Herod, now master of his enemies, next considered how he could be master also of his foreign auxiliaries; for the crowd of aliens evinced the most ardent curiosity to examine the Temple, and the holy things of the sanctuary. With some, the king had recourse to expostulation, with some to threats, while others he restrained even by arms; deeming victory more disastrous than defeat, should aught meet their eye, which should not have been beheld. He now prevented likewise the pillage of the town, warmly demanding of Sosius whether the Romans, by thus emptying the city of men and money, wished to leave him king of a desert? For he would count the sovereignty of the world too dearly bought with the slaughter of so many of his people. Sosius replying, that he had justly allowed the soldiers plunder as a compensation for the toils of the siege, Herod promised to distribute rewards to each out of his private revenues.

Having thus redeemed what remained of the capital, he fulfilled his engagement, magnificently remunerating every soldier, the officers in proportion, and Sosius with royal munificence; so that not one departed devoid of wealth. Sosius, after dedicating a golden crown to God, withdrew from Jerusalem, leading Antigonus in chains to Antony. Clinging to life, and to the last cherishing a miserable hope, Antigonus fell beneath the axe, an end worthy of his ignoble mind!

4. King Herod, distinguishing between the two parties in the city, attached more firmly to him by honours those who had espoused his cause, while he executed the partisans of Antigonus; and as his coffers were exhausted, he converted all his decorations into money, and remitted it to Antony, and his friends. But even thus could he not purchase total exemption from injury; for Antony, already enamoured of Cleopatra to distraction, was an utter slave to his passion. After exercising such cruelty towards her own family, that not one of her

kindred was left unscathed, she next thirsted for the blood of foreigners ; and as an easy method of becoming mistress of their possessions, she calumniated to Antony the men of authority in Syria, and persuaded him to put them to death. She farther extended her cupidity to Judæa and Arabia, and secretly devised measures for the destruction of their respective kings, Herod and Malichus.

5. With her openly expressed commands Antony complied ; for, though he deemed it unlawful to take away the lives of two virtuous and eminent princes, yet as the nearest approach to her wishes, he renounced their friendship. Depriving them of much of their territory, and even of the plantation of palm trees in Jericho, where flourishes also the balsam tree, he gave them to her, with all the towns on this side the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon excepted. Mistress of these, she accompanied him in his expedition against the Parthians, as far as the Euphrates ; and thence, by way of Apamia and Damascus, she proceeded to Judæa.

Here, with costly presents, Herod not only soothed her resentful mind, but also succeeded in purchasing from her, for two thousand talents annually, those places which had been severed from his kingdom. He then escorted her as far as Pelusium, with every demonstration of respect. Not long after Antony returned from Parthia, leading captive Artabazes, son of Tigranes, as a present for Cleopatra ; for on her, with the money, and the entire of the spoil, was the Parthian immediately bestowed.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. THE war of Actium having broken out, Herod, released at length from disturbances in Judæa, and now become master of Hyrcania, a place hitherto held by Antigonus' sister, prepared to join his arms with those of Antony. He was, however, artfully precluded by Cleopatra from sharing Antony's dangers. For, having treacherously formed schemes, as we have stated, against the kings, she prevailed on Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod, in order that, should he be successful, she might become mistress of Arabia, or if unsuccessful, of Judæa ; and, by the one of these princes dethrone the other.

2. This policy, however, proved fortunate for Herod. For, though at first making only predatory incursions into the enemy's territory, having eventually mustered a powerful body of cavalry, he charged the

enemy near Diospolis, and after a severe action defeated them. This discomfiture occasioned a vast commotion among the Arabians, who assembled in immense multitudes at Canatha, in Cœle-Syria, and there awaited the Jews. On reaching this spot with his army, Herod endeavoured to prosecute hostilities with greater circumspection, and ordered his camp to be fortified. Regardless of his commands, however, his troops, flushed with their former victory, rushed upon the Arabians, whom they overthrew at the first onset, and chased from the field.

During the pursuit a snare was laid for Herod by Athenio, one of Cleopatra's generals, who, ever inimical to him, suddenly despatched a native force against him from Canatha. Encouraged by this charge, the Arabians renewed the fight, and, forming a junction of their forces in places rocky and difficult of approach, routed the troops of Herod, and committed dreadful slaughter among them. Those who escaped from the battle fled to Ormiza, where, being surrounded in their entrenchments by the Arabians, they fell, to a man, into the hands of the enemy.

3. Soon after this calamity Herod arrived with reinforcements, but too late for the occasion. This disaster was attributable to the disobedience of the officers; for, had they not engaged so precipitately, Athenio would have found no opportunity for the execution of his plan. Herod, however, subsequently avenged himself on the Arabians, by constantly ravaging their territory; so as to exact frequent retribution again and again, for their single triumph. But while chastising his enemies, another fatal calamity befel him, in the seventh year of his reign, and when the war of Actium was at its height. In the early part of the spring there occurred an earthquake, in which countless multitudes of cattle, and thirty thousand human beings, perished; but the soldiery, lying in the open air, were uninjured. Rumour in the mean time, ever inclined to exaggerate misfortune, and representing Judæa as one scene of desolation, inspired the Arabians with increased confidence. Accordingly, thinking to possess themselves of a devastated country, they advanced into it by rapid marches, having first sacrificed the ambassadors who happened to have reached them from the Jews. Dismayed at this invasion, the nation was sinking, broken in heart by the magnitude of these successive calamities, when Herod convened it, and endeavoured to rouse the spirit of resistance, speaking as follows:

4. "Most unreasonable appears to me the terror which now agitates you. That you should be disheartened by these divine inflictions is natural; but to be equally alarmed at a human visitation is unmanly.

So far from fearing our enemies since the earthquake, I am of opinion that God has laid this snare for the Arabians, to enable us to take vengeance on them. For they come relying, not so much on their weapons, or their strength, as on our fortuitous calamities. But that hope is fallacious which hangs suspended, not on one's own vigour, but on the ill success of others. Among men, neither prosperity, nor adversity, is permanent; but we see fortune alternating in her favours. Of this various examples may be adduced from among ourselves; for in the previous combat the enemy conquered us when we were already victors;—and in all probability those who are now anticipating a triumph, will be defeated. For overweening confidence throws men off their guard; whereas fear teaches forethought: so that your very timidity inspires me with assurance.

“When you were emboldened against your foes with unwarrantable temerity, and, contrary to my view, rushed to the attack, an occasion presented itself for Athenio's stratagem. But now your tardiness, and apparent dejection, afford me an undoubted pledge of victory. Thus, indeed, it becomes the soldier to feel in the prospect of battle; once, however, in action, our valour should be aroused, and we should teach these miscreants, that no misfortune, whether from God or man, can ever, while they breathe the breath of life, depress the fortitude of the Jews; and that not one of them will ever tamely behold an Arabian master of his property—an Arabian, whom, ere now, he has so often held captive. But let not the convulsions of inanimate nature disturb you! nor suppose that this earthquake is a presage of another calamity. Such affections of the elements proceed from physical causes, and are productive of nothing to mankind beyond the direct injury they occasion. Of pestilence, famine, and earthquakes, there may be some brief pre-intimation: but their very magnitude forbids us to regard them as indicative of aught beyond. For how can a war, even though unsuccessful, be more hurtful than the earthquake? There is, however, a fearful portent of ruin to our adversaries, a portent neither fortuitous, nor coming from aliens' hands. Have they not, in violation of the universal law of nations, barbarously murdered our ambassadors? and outraged all religion by offering up to God such victims for the issue of the contest. But they will not escape his broad eye, and invincible right arm. Yea; and soon will they pay the penalty of their ancestral presumption, if we hasten to rise and take vengeance on these violaters of treaties. Let each, then, go, not for his wife, his children, nor yet for his endangered country; but to avenge our ambassadors. They, though dead, will conduct the war better than we who live. If you will be obedient to me, I will go

before you into danger ; for, be assured that your valour is irresistible, if you do not by some act of rashness impede your victorious course."

5. Having in this strain re-animated his troops, observing their ardour, he sacrificed to God, and, this done, crossed the Jordan with his army. Encamping in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, not far from the enemy, eager to bring them to action, he skirmished with them for possession of a fort that lay midway between their lines; the Arabians having sent forward a detachment to occupy it. This a party despatched by the king drove back forthwith, and took possession of the hill. Daily leading out his troops, he drew them up in battle array, and challenged his opponents. But when none came out, for a dreadful consternation had seized them, and in presence of his troops their general Elthemus stood withered with terror; he attacked and demolished their entrenchments. Upon this, impelled by necessity, they sallied forth in disorder, cavalry and infantry intermixed. Superior in number to the Jews, they were inferior in alacrity, though withal reckless through despair of success.

6. Accordingly, while they made resistance, their loss was considerable; but when they gave way many perished, some by the hands of the Jews, others trodden down by their own party. Five thousand fell in the pursuit; the rest avoided instant destruction by crowding within the entrenchments. Here Herod surrounded and besieged them. But the destruction that menaced them by arms, was anticipated by thirst, their supply of water failing. The king treated their messengers with scorn; and though they offered five hundred talents as their ransom, he pressed the operations with increased vigour. Parched with thirst, numbers issued forth, and voluntarily surrendered themselves to the Jews; so that in five days four thousand were made prisoners. On the sixth, the remainder, in despair, came out to battle. These Herod attacked, and again defeated, slaughtering about seven thousand men. By this disastrous overthrow he avenged himself on Arabia, and so completely broke the spirit of its people, that he was advanced to the dignity of Protector of the nation.

CHAPTER XX.

1. HEROD soon found cause of uneasiness as to the security of his sovereign power, in his friendship for Antony, whom Cæsar had just defeated at Actium. He was, however, rather alarmed than injured; for Cæsar did not consider his victory complete, so long as Herod attached himself to his rival. The king resolved, however, to confront the danger; and setting sail for Rhodes, where Cæsar was sojourning, he, without a diadem, and in the habit and character of a private individual, but with the spirit of a king, appeared before him, and, declaring the truth without reserve, thus candidly addressed him: "Raised by Antony to the sovereignty of Judæa, I acknowledge, Cæsar, that I have, as a king, in all things studied his interests; and I unhesitatingly avow, that, had not the Arabians prevented, you would assuredly have made trial of my prowess in arms. According to my ability, however, I supplied him with troops, and with many thousand measures of grain; nor even after his defeat at Actium did I desert my benefactor. When I could no longer aid him as an auxiliary, I offered him the most prudent counsel—that there was but one remedy for his disasters—the death of Cleopatra. Should she be removed, I promised him money, ramparts for his security, an army, and myself as his confederate in the war against you. But his passion for Cleopatra, and God who has granted you the victory, closed his ears. With Antony, therefore, I have been conquered; and with his ruin lay aside my crown. To you, however, I come, building on my integrity my hope of safety; anticipating that it will be inquired how firm a friend, rather than whose friend, I have been."

2. To this Cæsar replied: "Live in safety, and reign henceforth under surer auspices. For, thus standing forward in defence of friendship, you deserve pre-eminence in rule. Endeavour also to remain faithful to those who have been more fortunate; as I too entertain the most splendid hopes regarding your noble spirit. Happily for me, however, has Antony yielded to Cleopatra's persuasions, rather than to yours; for we have gained you by his infatuation. But you lead the way, as it seems, in acts of kindness. Quintus Didius writes to me that you sent him succours in his contest with the gladiators. For the present, therefore, I ensure you the throne by decree; and I shall also endeavour at a future period to do you service, that you may not feel the loss of Antony."

3. Having in this courteous strain addressed the king, he placed

the diadem on his head, and promulgated the grant by a decree, in which he expatiated, in highly flattering terms, in praise of the man. Herod, having by presents endeavoured to appease Cæsar's anger, solicited pardon for Alexander, one of Antony's adherents, who had sued for mercy. But Cæsar was inexorable; and complaining long and vehemently of the individual for whom he interceded, rejected his petition. Subsequently, when Cæsar was proceeding to Egypt through Syria, Herod received him with all royal magnificence, and having first accompanied him on horseback during a review of his troops at Ptolemais, he entertained him with his entire suite. He likewise furnished the soldiers with every requisite for a feast.

He took care, moreover, to provide a sufficient supply of water for the army, both on its march to Pelusium, and on its return, the route lying through an arid region; nor did the troops want any necessary. It occurred, accordingly, to Cæsar and his soldiers, that Herod's dominions were much too limited, compared with the services he had rendered. Cæsar, therefore, on his arrival in Egypt—Cleopatra and Antony being now dead—not only conferred on him other honours, but re-annexed to his kingdom the district severed from it Cleopatra, with the addition of Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria, and by the maritime towns Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower. He presented him also, as a body-guard, with four hundred Gauls, who had formerly attended Cleopatra in that capacity. Nothing so strongly called forth Cæsar's liberality, as the noble spirit of him who was the object of it.

4. After the first celebration of the games at Actium, he likewise united to his territories the district denominated Trachonitis, with Batanæa, adjacent to it, and the region of Auranitis. The origin of this grant was as follows:—Zenodorus, who had farmed the domain of Lysanias, despatched incessantly his retainers from Trachonitis to plunder the Damascenes; the latter fled for refuge to Varro, the governor of Syria, and entreated him to lay their sufferings before Cæsar. On learning the facts, Cæsar sent back orders to exterminate the banditti. Varro, in consequence, led his troops against them, and having cleared the district of these marauders, deprived Zenodorus of it; and Cæsar, to prevent it from again becoming a station for the brigands in their attacks on Damascus, presented it to Herod.

Ten years after, on Cæsar's return to Syria, he appointed Herod procurator of the whole of that province, and with such authority that his colleagues in command could take no step without his concurrence. On the death of Zenodorus, he further allotted him the

entire region between Trachonitis and Galilee. But what in Herod's esteem was of still greater value, he was loved by Cæsar next to Agrippa, and by Agrippa next to Cæsar. But though he hence attained a very high degree of prosperity, he was still more elevated by a noble mind, which now shone forth with peculiar lustre in the religious complexion which his character assumed.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. HEROD, accordingly, at an incalculable expense, and in a style of unsurpassed magnificence, in the fifteenth year of his reign, restored the Temple, and breasted up with a wall the area around it, so as to enlarge it to twice its former extent. An evidence of its sumptuousness were the ample colonnades around the holy place, and the fort on its northern side. The colonnades he reared from the foundation; the fort, in nothing inferior to a palace, he repaired at an immense cost; and called it Antonia, in honour of Antony. He also constructed a residence for himself in the upper town, containing two very spacious, and not less beautiful buildings, with which the Temple itself bore no comparison. These he designated after his friends, the one Cæsarium, the other Agrippium.

2. It was not, however, on individual structures alone that he inscribed their memory and names: his zeal extended to whole cities. In the district of Samaria, he enclosed a town with a superb wall twenty furlongs in length; and introduced into it six thousand colonists, to whom he assigned an extremely fertile tract. In the centre of the buildings he erected a temple to Cæsar, of very large dimensions, and having laid out around it a furlong and half of consecrated ground, he named the city Sebaste; and bestowed on its inhabitants an enviable charter.

3. Subsequently, when the munificence of Cæsar had added another district to his dominions, in it also he reared a temple to him of white marble, at the sources of the Jordan. The place bears the name of Panium. Here is a mountain, whose summit lifts itself to a vast height, and close by a hollow at its base, a gloomy cavern opens from below, in which a yawning chasm descends abruptly to an immeasurable depth, containing a vast collection of still water, hitherto found unfathomable by any length of line. Outside, from the roots of the

cavern, spring these fountains; and from them, in the opinion of some, the Jordan takes its rise. But of this we shall speak more particularly hereafter.

4. The king, having constructed other buildings also at Jericho, between the fort of Cypros and the former palace, better and more commodious for sojourn, named them after the same friends. In fine, there was not a suitable spot in his dominions, which he permitted to be without some honourable memorial of Cæsar. And when his own territories had been filled with temples, he lavished on his province testimonials of his regard, and in many cities erected monuments to Cæsar.

5. Observing among the maritime towns, one, then dilapidated, called Strato's Tower, which, from advantage of situation, was suited for the display of his zeal, he rebuilt it throughout with white stone, and adorned it with splendid palaces; a work in which he gave striking proof of natural greatness of mind. For from Dora to Joppa, midway between which lies Strato's Tower, the whole line of coast, as it happened, was destitute of a safe roadstead; insomuch that vessels, passing the Phœnician coast to Egypt, were obliged to face the dangers of the deep when menaced by the south-west wind, which raises, even if it blow but moderately, such a surf upon the rocks, that, by the reflux of the waves, the sea is violently agitated to a very considerable distance. But, nature herself yielding to the king's expenditure and enterprise, he constructed a harbour of greater extent than the Pyræus, and in its recesses other stations of sufficient depth.

6. Adverse as was the place throughout, so successfully did he grapple with the difficulties, that the firmness of the structure defied the waves; while its beauty was such, as if no impediment had existed to its decoration. Having measured out for the haven the space we have stated, he let down stones in twenty fathoms water; the greater part of them fifty feet in length, nine in depth, and ten in breadth, and some still larger. Having filled up the depth, the mole, thus raised above the surface, he widened to two hundred feet, of which one hundred were built out to break the surge, and that section was accordingly called the break-water. The remainder supported a stone wall, which encircled the harbour. This was occupied, at intervals, with vast towers, the loftiest and most beautiful of which received the name of Drusium, from Cæsar's step-son.

7. There were, moreover, numerous vaulted apartments for the reception of such as might land there; while in front of these, round the entire circuit of the haven, was a broad terrace for the conve-

nience of those who disembarked. The entrance was on the north, from which point the wind in that quarter blew with the least violence. At the mouth of the harbour, on either side, were three colossal statues, raised on columns: the columns on the left as you sail in, are supported by a solid tower; those on the right, by two upright stones bound together, and exceeding in dimensions the tower on the opposite side.

Adjacent to the harbour, to which the streets of the town, running at regular distances, conducted, were houses also of white stone. Over-against the entrance, on an eminence, stood Cæsar's temple, distinguished for beauty and magnitude. In this were two colossal figures; one of Cæsar, not inferior in size to the Olympian Jupiter, on the model of which it was executed: the other of Rome, equal to the Juno at Argos. The city he dedicated to the province; and the port to those sailing to it; but to Cæsar he ascribed the honour of the erection, and named it accordingly—Cæsarea.

8. The remainder of the works, amphitheatre, theatre, and market-place, he constructed in a style worthy the city's appellation; and having in the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad instituted quinquennial games, he in like manner called them after Cæsar, he himself being the first to offer prizes of great value. At these, not only did the victors, but they also who obtained the second and third places, participate in the royal munificence. He likewise rebuilt Anthedon, a maritime town, destroyed in the wars, and called it Agrippium; and so warm was his regard for the same friend, that he engraved his name upon the gate which he had himself erected in the Temple.

9. If ever heart glowed with filial affection, Herod's did so; for, as a monument to his father, he built a city in the most delightful plain in his dominions, rich in rivers and trees, and called it Antipatris. A fortress above Jericho, also, remarkable for strength and beauty, he walled, and dedicated to his mother, under the appellation of Cypros. To Phasaëlus his brother he reared a tower in Jerusalem, distinguishing it by his name, the form, magnitude, and splendour of which we shall describe in course. Another city, likewise, he founded in the valley as you go northward from Jericho, and called it Phasaëlis.

10. But while he thus handed down to future ages his family and friends, he did not neglect a memorial of himself; and having constructed a fortress on a mountain towards Arabia, he called it Herodium, after himself. An artificial mound, shaped like a woman's breast, distant sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, he named similarly, and adorned in more ambitious style. The summit he embraced with circular towers, occupying the enclosure with the most sump-

tuous structures; and not only did the interior of these present an air of magnificence, but on the outer walls also, with the battlements, and roofs, was lavished a profusion of most costly ornaments.

He, moreover, conveyed to it from a great distance, and at an immense expense, an ample supply of water; and rendered the ascent easy by two hundred steps of the whitest marble: the mound being of considerable elevation, and entirely artificial. He erected, also, at the base, other palaces for the reception of his furniture and friends; so that the fort, in the diversity of its accommodation, resembled a town—in its circumscribed limits, a royal residence.

11. Having completed these different works, he displayed an exalted liberality towards many cities exterior to his jurisdiction; by erecting gymnasia at Tripolis, Damascus, and Ptolemais, and constructing a wall for Biblus; town-halls, moreover, colonnades, temples, and market-places, for Berytus and Tyre; and also theatres for Sidon and Damascus. He constructed an aqueduct for the Laodiceans who resided on the sea coast; and baths, costly fountains, and a peristyle, admirable both for workmanship and magnitude, at Ascalon. Some there were to which he dedicated groves and meadows. Numerous cities, also, as if pertaining to his kingdom, received grants of land from him. He further endowed other gymnastic institutions with revenues to be paid annually for ever, to provide, as in the case of the Coäns, against a deficiency in the prizes. Those in want he supplied with corn. To the people of Rhodes he granted on many occasions, and at various places, subsidies for the equipment of a navy. The Pythian temple, which had been burnt down, he rebuilt in a superior style at his own expense.

But why need I allude to his presents to the Lycians, or Samians? or to his liberality, exercised, according to the necessity of each, through the whole of Ionia? And are not the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, the Nicopolitans, and the city Pergamus in Mysia, laden with Herod's donations? Did he not, also, flag with white marble that causeway in Antioch of Syria, though twenty furlongs in length, shunned on account of the mud that imbedded it? and did he not adorn it with a colonnade of equal extent, as a protection from the rain?

12. Individual communities alone, it may be alleged, were benefited by these instances of generosity; but his bounty to the Eleans was not only an act of liberality to Greece in general, but to the whole world, pervaded as it has been by the fame of the Olympic games. For, observing that these were declining for want of funds, and that this solitary relic of ancient Greece was fast falling into

neglect, he not only accepted the office of president at the quinquennial celebration, which happened when he was on his voyage to Rome, but he, moreover, allocated in perpetuity, revenues for their support; so that his memory will never fail, as it were, still to occupy the presidency. It would be endless to enumerate remissions of debts and tributes, as in the cases of the inhabitants of Phasaëlis and Balanea, and the minor towns in Cilicia, all of which he exonerated from their annual payments. His noble spirit of benevolence, however, received a painful check, from his fear of exciting envy, or of seeming too aspiring, when he conferred on cities greater benefits than they received from their own masters.

13. Proportioned to his mind were Herod's personal endowments. In the chase, from his skill in horsemanship, he was always foremost. In a single day, accordingly, he sometimes overcame forty wild animals. The country abounds in wild boars, but particularly in deer and wild asses. As a warrior he was irresistible; and in the gymnastic exercise many have been astonished, seeing him the most direct javelin-thrower, and the most unerring bowman. But besides this mental and physical superiority, he was the favourite of fortune. For he rarely met with any disaster in war; and when he did, it was attributable not to himself, but either to treachery, or to the rashness of his troops.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. BUT while Herod was thus successful out of doors, fortune avenged herself on him with troubles at home, which originated with the woman to whom he was particularly attached. On ascending the throne, having dismissed Doris, a native of Jerusalem, whom he had married when he was still a private individual, he espoused Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus. On her account arose the disturbances in his family, which, though of earlier date, were more rife after his return from Rome.

For, in the first place, to please his sons by Mariamne, he banished from Jerusalem Antipater, his son by Doris, permitting him to visit it on the festivals only. He next put to death, on suspicion of conspiracy, Hyrcanus, his wife's grandfather, who had come to him from Parthia, and whose liberation, when he had been taken prisoner by Barzapharnes then overrunning Syria, his countrymen on that side the Euphrates had, from compassion, solicited. And, had he listened

to their persuasions, when they urged him not to cross over to Herod, he would not have perished. But the marriage of his grand-daughter lured him to ruin. For, relying on that, and too ardently attached to his native land, he returned, and excited the jealousy of Herod, not by affecting royalty, but by possessing an actual right to the throne.

2. Of the five children whom Mariamne bore him, two were daughters and three sons. Of the latter, the youngest died while pursuing his studies in Rome; the two elder he educated in regal splendour, in compliment to their mother's exalted parentage, and from their having been born subsequently to his elevation to the throne.

His chief inducement, however, was his affection for Mariamne, which daily glowed more intensely, so that nothing seemed painful that was endured for one so beloved. But not inferior to his love for her was her hatred to him. With but too just reason, indeed, for dislike, and emboldened in her language by his attachment, she publicly upbraided him with his treatment of her grandfather Hircanus, and her brother Aristobulus; the latter of whom he had not spared, though in boyhood; for he bestowed upon him the high priesthood in his seventeenth year; and yet, after investing him with the dignity, presently put him to death. When the youth, clothed in the sacred vestments, approached the altar during a festival, the assembled multitude burst into tears. He was, therefore, sent by night to Jericho, and there, according to command, drowned in a swimming-bath by the Gauls.

3. This conduct of Herod called forth the reproaches of Mariamne, who upbraided likewise his sister and mother in the severest terms. But while his lips were sealed by her fascinations, the women, fired up with resentment, and, as a subject on which they thought Herod most likely to be touched, accused her of unfaithfulness. In order to give credibility to the story, they charged her, among many other things, with having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony, and thus, in the extravagance of passion, though distant, to have shown herself to one who, while extremely licentious, had it in his power to employ violence.

This accusation, falling like a thunderbolt, agitated Herod, who felt the pangs of jealousy more acutely from the ardour of his attachment, and reflected, moreover, on the cruel influence gained by Cleopatra, to which king Lysanias, and Malichus the Arabian, had become victims. For he estimated his danger not merely at the loss of his consort, but of his life.

4. Being on the eve of departure from his dominions, he confided his wife to the care of Joseph, his sister Salome's husband—a faithful, and, from the ties subsisting between them, an attached, friend—with private injunctions to kill her, should Antony put him to death. Joseph, without any sinister intention, and anxious to evince to her the warmth of the king's affection, inasmuch as to be separated from her, even in death, was more than he could endure, betrayed the secret. When Herod, on his return, with the most solemn oaths was assuring her of his attachment, during their private conversation, and that he had never so loved another: “No doubt,” said she, “you love us; and well did you show it by the commands you left with Joseph to kill me.”

5. Frantic, the moment he heard that the secret was divulged, he exclaimed that Joseph never would have disclosed his orders, had he not been too familiar with her; and, in the frenzy of passion, springing from the couch, he ran wildly about the palace. In the mean time, his sister Salome seizing the opportunity to criminate her, confirmed his suspicions as to Joseph: on which, driven to madness by ungovernable jealousy, he ordered them both to instant death. Repentance, however, quickly succeeded to rage; and, as anger subsided, tenderness revived. So ardent, indeed, was the flame of his affection, that, unable to persuade himself that she was no more, he would address her in his ravings, as if still alive. And when lapse of time had taught him the mournful truth, he felt a grief proportioned to the love he bore her in life.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. THE sons inherited their mother's resentment, and revolving in their minds the enormity of their father's guilt, eyed him as a foe, even while proceeding with their studies in Rome; and more so on their return to Judæa. These impressions gathered strength with their years. And when, arrived at an age to marry, the one had espoused the daughter of their aunt Salome, their mother's accuser, and the other the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, to hatred they superadded freedom of speech. Of this rashness their traducers availed themselves, and there were some who already more openly assured the king, that a conspiracy was formed against him by both his sons; and that the son-in-law of Archelaus, depending

on his father-in-law's protection, was preparing to fly, in order to accuse him at Cæsar's tribunal. Herod, filled to the full with calumnies, brought back, as a bulwark against the children of Mariamne, Antipater, his son by Doris, and began to distinguish him with every mark of his favour.

2. Unable to endure the change, the young men in their pride of birth did not restrain their indignation on seeing the son of a private woman exalted above themselves, and on every new occasion of uneasiness they testified their chagrin. But while, with each succeeding day, they gave fresh offence, Antipater was anxiously occupied on his own behalf. Remarkably adroit in flattering his father, he devised withal various calumnies to the prejudice of his brothers, some of which he related in person, while he employed fit agents to circulate others, until he reft from them every hope of the crown. For both by testament and open acknowledgment he was now successor, and was accordingly sent as a sovereign prince to Cæsar, invested with the decorations and other insignia of royalty, the diadem excepted. In process of time, he prevailed in introducing his mother into Mariamne's bed; and by employing against his brothers two weapons, flattery and detraction, he covertly wrought upon the king to entertain the thought of the death of his sons.

3. Accordingly, Herod having dragged Alexander to Rome, arraigned him at Cæsar's tribunal of an attempt to poison him. The young man with difficulty summoned confidence to lay open his distress; yet as he had a judge who in tact excelled Antipater, and Herod in calmness, he modestly suppressed his father's faults, and with great strength of argument exculpated himself from the charges. Having next established the innocence of his brother also, his partner in danger, he complained of Antipater's insidious conduct, and of the dishonour cast upon themselves. A clear conscience aided his powers of language, for he was an extremely impressive speaker; and declaring in conclusion how grateful their death would be to their father, he exposed the whole nature of the charge brought against them, moving all to tears; and so deeply did he affect Cæsar, that he dismissed the accusation, and immediately reconciled Herod to them; the terms of reconciliation being, that they were to render all obedience to their father, while he was to bequeath the kingdom to whom he would.

4. Herod now returned from Rome apparently acquitting his sons of the charges, but not released from suspicion. He was accompanied by Antipater, the source of these animosities, who was withheld by respect for him by whom the reconciliation had been effected from openly evincing his animosity. Sailing by Cilicia, Herod touched at

Eleusa, where he and his party were hospitably entertained by Archelaus, grateful for the safety of his son-in-law, and delighted at the reconciliation : for he had previously written to his friends in Rome to assist Alexander on his trial. Having made Herod a present of thirty talents, he escorted him as far as Zephyziun.

5. Herod, on reaching Jerusalem, convened the people, and introducing to them his three sons, declared the cause of his absence, expressing at large his thankfulness to God, as also to Cæsar, who had allayed the disturbances in his family, and, what was of greater value to him than his crown, established concord among his sons : “ which it shall be my care,” he said, “ more closely to cement ; for Cæsar has constituted me master of the kingdom, and judge of the successor. I, therefore, in consulting my own advantage, requite him, and, to effect both objects, appoint to the regal dignity these my three sons ; imploring God first, and after him yourselves, to ratify this determination. For, to the one, his age gives a title to the succession ; to the others, nobility. And my dominions, from their extent, would suffice for a greater number. To those, therefore, whom Cæsar has united, and whom their father has nominated, do you render deference, paying no undue or unsuitable respect, but treating each according to seniority. For no one can gratify the individual courted beyond what befits his age, so much as he will grieve him who is neglected. The relations and friends, with whom I wish them to be intimate, I shall myself provide, holding them responsible for the unanimity of my sons, well aware that it is the evil dispositions of their associates which beget discord and contention ; and that if these are good men they will promote natural affection. I require, however, not only these, but the officers of my army, on me alone to rest their hopes for the present, as I do not deliver the kingdom, but its honours, to my sons. Thus will they enjoy, as rulers, the sweets of empire ; while mine of necessity will be its weight. Let each reflect on my age, moreover, my mode of life, and my piety. I am not yet so old as to be the subject of despair, nor have I indulged in luxury, which cuts off even young men ; while so devoutly have we worshipped the Divine Being, that we may hope to attain extreme old age.

“ Should any one, however, court my sons to my prejudice, he shall suffer punishment even on their account. For I prohibit this respect being shown to them, not as if jealous of my offspring ; but from a consciousness that such attentions foster self-confidence in the youthful breast. Their intimates, therefore, should severally bear in mind, that, if they are good men, they shall meet with merited reward ; but that, if they kindle discord, their malice will be unpro-

fitable, even to those whom they would conciliate—then ail, I think, will study my interests, which are identical with those of my sons; who, on the other hand, will find it for their advantage that I should govern, and live in amity with them.

“And do you, my virtuous children, cherish fraternal concord, in consideration, first, of the sacred ties of nature, which, even among wild beasts, are respected; next of Cæsar, who effected our reconciliation; and thirdly of me, who entreat when I might have commanded. I now present you with royal apparel and attendance; and I beseech God to ratify this arrangement, if you live in harmony.” Having thus spoken, and tenderly embraced each of his sons, he dismissed the multitude, some joining in the prayers expressed; others, who desired change, pretending that they had not even heard him.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. THE spirit of dissension, however, still clave to the brothers, and they separated entertaining worse suspicions of each other: Alexander and Aristobulus, grieving at the right of primogeniture being confirmed to Antipater; Antipater, indignant that his brothers should obtain honours even second to his own. But of a character extremely versatile, Antipater had learned to be silent, and by the aid of much artifice, he dissembled his hatred of his brothers; while they, from ingenuousness of disposition, had every thought upon their tongue. And there were many who laboured assiduously to irritate them, whilst others of their friends insinuated themselves into their confidence, as spies. Accordingly, all that was said by Alexander was instantly with Antipater, and with additions passed from Antipater to Herod. Nor, even when speaking in the simplicity of his heart, was the young man secure from imputation:—whatever he uttered was converted into crime; and if he used a little freedom in conversation, the darkest meaning was attached to the most trivial expression. Antipater, moreover, kept emissaries constantly employed in irritating him, that falsehood itself might have a foundation in truth; and if among the rumours one was substantiated, it attached credibility to all. And so reserved were his friends, either from natural closeness, or under the influence of his presents, that not a syllable of his secret machinations transpired. Nor should we err in calling the life of Antipater

a mystery of iniquity ; for, either corrupting with gold the associates of Alexander, or seducing them by flattery—the means by which he invariably accomplished his purposes—he made them traitors, and led them to divulge all that was said or done.

Having thus, with the most consummate address, prepared the drama, and with singular artifice opened a way for these calumnies to the ear of Herod, he acted personally the part of a brother, while he commissioned others to relate the story. And when anything was told to Alexander's prejudice, dropping in as it were by accident, he would play the hypocrite ; and beginning by refuting the allegation, he in the end confirmed it by his silence, and thus awakened the king's resentment. Everything was pressed in to advance the plot, and to induce the belief that Alexander had a design against his father's life. Nor did aught attach so much credit to these calumnies, as Antipater's becoming his apologist.

2. These insinuations exasperating the mind of Herod, his affection for the youths suffered a daily diminution, while his regard for Antipater bore a proportionate increase. The inmates of the palace, likewise, adopted the same line of conduct, some of their own accord, others by command ; among whom were Ptolemy, the most honoured of his friends, the king's brothers, and his entire family ; for Antipater was now all in all. And—which was most galling to Alexander—Antipater's mother enjoyed similar influence, a woman who was in league against them ;—severer than a stepmother, and who hated the queen's offspring more than she would have done had they even been her step-children. Accordingly, all, in consequence of his expectations, now paid court to Antipater, while the king's orders withdrew them from the young men ; he having directed those highest in his favour, neither to approach Alexander nor his brother, nor show them any attention.

He was a terror, moreover, not only to his friends at home, but to those abroad. For to no other sovereign had Cæsar granted the privilege of claiming, and that even from states not subject to him, fugitives from his jurisdiction. The young men, meanwhile, as their father had never openly complained of them, were ignorant of the calumnies, and therefore more off their guard. Their suspicions, however, gradually became awakened by his coldness and increased asperity on occasion of any slight annoyance. Antipater had, further, rendered their uncle Pheroras inimical to them, as also their aunt Salome, whom he perpetually haunted as if she had been his wife, whetting her resentment. This hostility was aggravated by Glaphyra, Alexander's consort, who boasted of her high extraction, as entitling

her to act the queen over all the ladies at court; being descended by her father from Temenus, and by her mother from Darius, son of Hystaspes. She, moreover, frequently upbraided with their ignoble birth Herod's sister, and his wives, all of whom he had selected, not for their rank, but for their beauty. Of these he had many, a plurality of wives being by the usage of their country permitted to the Jews, and the king's disposition leading him to avail himself of the privilege. To all these Glaphyra's haughtiness and contumelies rendered Alexander hateful.

3. Aristobulus, too, had alienated from himself even his own mother-in-law, Salome, exasperated as she was already by the taunts of Glaphyra: for he ceased not to reproach his wife with the meanness of her origin; and that, while he had married a private individual, his brother Alexander had espoused a queen. This the daughter related with tears to Salome, adding, that Alexander and Aristobulus had threatened, when they came to the throne, to make the mothers of their other brothers ply the distaff with the female slaves, and to appoint their sons to be village scribes; sarcastically observing that they had been carefully educated. On this, no longer controlling her anger, Salome related the whole to Herod; her story carrying the greater weight as the accused was her own son-in-law. Another calumny also concurred with this, which still further inflamed the king's mind. It had been told him, that his sons were constantly invoking their mother, cursing him while they bewailed her; and that often, on his presenting some of Mariamne's apparel to his later wives, they threatened, that, instead of royal vestments, they should shortly dress themselves in hair-cloth.

4. Herod, though he feared the high spirit of the young men, was at the same time not led by what had occurred to abandon the hope of their reformation. Being about to sail for Rome, he sent for them, and having briefly threatened them as a sovereign, and admonished them at large as a father, he exhorted them to love their brothers, granting them remission of past offences, if they would conduct themselves better for the future. They however repudiated the calumnies, averring that they were false, and that this plea was sustained by their acts. He ought, they said, to shut the mouths of these tale-bearers, by not thus easily crediting them; for there would never be wanting enemies to traduce them, so long as there was any one to lend an ear.

5. Having by these remarks quickly gained a father's confidence, all immediate apprehension was dispelled; but they entertained sad forebodings as to the future, knowing the hostility of Salome, and of

their uncle Pheroras; both of them influential and dangerous, especially the latter, who participated in all the honours of royalty, the diadem excepted. His private income amounted to a hundred talents, exclusive of the revenues of the whole range of country beyond the Jordan, with which he had been presented by his brother, at whose request Cæsar had further elevated him to the tetrarchate. Added to this, Herod deemed him worthy of a union with one of the royal family, having given him in marriage the sister of his own wife, and after her demise betrothed him to the eldest of his daughters, with a dower of three hundred talents. This union, however, Pheroras, from love for a slave, declined; which so provoked Herod, that he espoused his daughter to his nephew, who subsequently fell in battle against the Parthians. But his resentment soon subsided, and he pardoned him in consideration of his passion.

6. Long prior to this period, and while the queen was still living, Pheroras had been accused of a design to poison Herod; and so numerous were the informants, that the king, though the most affectionate of brothers, was led to credit their statements, and to entertain fears. Many of those suspected were put to the torture, and ultimately the friends of Pheroras; none of whom distinctly confessed the plot, though they admitted, that Phêroras was preparing to retire into Parthia with the woman whom he loved; and that Costobarus, Salome's husband, to whom the king had given her in marriage—her first husband having suffered death on a charge of adultery, was privy to his design, and meditated flight. Nor was Salome free from imputation; having been accused by her brother Pheroras of entering into a matrimonial compact with Syllæus, procurator of Obodas, king of Arabia, and the most inveterate of Herod's enemies. But though convicted of this, and of every other allegation preferred against her by Pheroras, she was pardoned: the king acquitting Pheroras, also, of the charges.

7. The storm, which had been gathering over the family, veering round, burst in full force on the head of Alexander. Herod had in his service three eunuchs, who enjoyed a large share of his favour, as was evinced by their offices: one of them being appointed cup-bearer; another to present his supper; while the third assisted him to undress, and slept in his apartment. These men had, by large presents, been brought over to Alexander's criminal purposes: on being informed of which, the king ordered them to the torture; and they at once confessed the fact, and stated, moreover, the promises by which they had been won, and in what manner Alexander had deceived them: "They need not," he said, "rest their hopes on Herod, a shameless old man,

who dyed his hair, unless indeed on that account they thought him young. They should attach themselves to him, who must succeed him, despite his reluctance, and who would ere long be avenged on his enemies; while he would render his friends, and them above all others, prosperous and happy." It was further stated, that persons of rank already paid private court to Alexander, and that he was, moreover, secretly visited by the generals, and inferior officers.

8. These disclosures so alarmed Herod, that he did not venture to give them immediate publicity; but, sending out his spies night and day, he scrutinized everything that was said or done, and instantly put to death all who fell under suspicion. The palace, in consequence, was filled with dire injustice. Every one forged calumnies, as personal enmity or hatred influenced them; and many abused the king's sanguinary disposition to the prejudice of their adversaries: indeed, the most palpable falsehood received immediate credence, yet punishment was inflicted more quickly than the calumny had been forged. Accordingly, the man who this moment had been an accuser, was the next accused himself, and led to death with him whom he had convicted: for the danger to his own life cut short the king's investigations.

Indeed, to such a state of bitterness did his mind proceed, that he could not look with composure even on those free from accusation; his very friends being exposed to his extreme asperity. Many of them, accordingly, he forbade the court; whilst others, secured from the weight of his arm, felt the violence of his tongue. Amidst these calamities, Antipater made a fresh attack on Alexander; and having formed a party of his kinsmen, there was no calumny which he did not fabricate. To such a state of terror was the king reduced by his juggleries and contrivances, that he fancied he saw Alexander advancing against him with a drawn sword. Having, therefore, arrested the young man, he threw him instantly into prison, and proceeded to examine his friends by torture. Many died silent, rather than do violence to their consciences; but some, compelled to falsehood by their sufferings, stated that Alexander and his brother Aristobulus had entered into a conspiracy, and were watching their opportunity to dispatch him when hunting, intending afterwards to escape to Rome. These statements, though incredible, and extorted on the moment by constraint, were eagerly credited by the king, who consoled himself with the hope that hence the imprisonment of his son would not wear an aspect of injustice.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. ALEXANDER, when he perceived it to be impossible to disabuse his father's mind, resolved to give way to the current; and having composed four books against his enemies, he acknowledged the conspiracy, but asserted that most of them were associated in it, particularly Pheroras and Salome; the latter of whom he accused of a gross violation of decency. These books, containing many and grave accusations against those in power, were put into the king's hands. Archelaus, meanwhile, alarmed for the safety of his son-in-law and daughter, repaired without delay to Judæa. His advocacy was singularly discreet; and he artfully diverted the king's threatened vengeance. Thus, the moment he met him, he exclaimed; "Where is this pestilent son-in-law of mine? Where shall I see this miscreant, this parricide, that I may tear him in pieces with my own hands? And my daughter shall share the fate of her hopeful spouse; for, though she may have had no participation in the plot, yet, as the wife of such a monster, she is polluted; and if Alexander still lives, I can only wonder how you, the intended victim of the plot, could have exhibited such forbearance. I hurried from Cappadocia, expecting to find that he had long since suffered punishment, to deliberate with you concerning my daughter, whom, solely from respect for you, and your exalted station, I united with him in marriage. But we must now consult in reference to both. If, through a father's feeling, you have not nerve to punish a rebellious son, let us each assume the other's avenging hand, and thus, taking each other's place, obtain satisfaction for our mutual wrongs.

2. Having by this invective diverted Herod, obstinate though he was, from his purpose, he handed him for perusal the books composed by Alexander, and, adverting to the several chapters, considered them with him. Archelaus, embracing the opportunity to carry out his scheme, gradually transferred the guilt to those whose names were introduced, particularly Pheroras. When he observed that the king credited his insinuations, "It is matter for consideration," he exclaimed, "whether this young man, instead of conspiring against you, be not himself the victim of these miscreants. For I can discover no reason why he should fall into so heinous a crime, enjoying as he does already regal honours, and hoping for the succession, were he not instigated by some who take unfair advantage of the pliancy of youth. For not only are the

young imposed on by such characters, but even the old ; nay, by these the most illustrious houses, and entire kingdoms, are subverted."

3. To these remarks Herod assented, and his anger against Alexander gradually subsided, whilst his feelings became exasperated against Pheroras ; for he it was who formed the leading subject of the four books. Perceiving the sudden change in the king's mind, and how complete an ascendancy Archelaus had obtained over him, Pheroras, as he had now no honourable means of safety, took refuge in effrontery. Accordingly, withdrawing from Alexander, he fled to Archelaus, who observed, that he did not see how he could entreat for his pardon, implicated as he was in so many charges, which distinctly marked him as a conspirator against the king, and as the cause of the young man's present misfortunes, unless, abandoning his artifices, and ceasing to deny his guilt, he would admit the truth of the allegations, and ask pardon of his brother, who still loved him. In this course, he would render him every assistance.

4. Pheroras acquiesced, and preparing himself, so as to appear an object of compassion, he threw himself, as he had often done, in a mourning dress, and in tears, at Herod's feet ; imploring his forgiveness, confessing himself a polluted wretch, guilty of every thing laid to his charge, and lamenting the disorder and aberration of mind, to which his love for this woman, as he said, had reduced him.

Having brought Pheroras to become accuser, and witness against himself, Archelaus endeavoured to extenuate his conduct, and eventually appeased Herod's resentment, adducing precedents in his own family ; for, though he had himself suffered evils much more aggravated from his brother, he had preferred the obligations of nature to revenge. For in empires, as in large bodies, some member was invariably swollen by the weight which it supported, and yet it would not be proper to amputate, but rather with mild applications to heal it.

5. With many such arguments, Archelaus softened the feelings of Herod towards Pheroras. His assumed indignation, however, against Alexander was not so easily appeased ; and he expressed his determination to divorce his daughter, and take her back with him, until he so wrought on Herod, that he became in turn a suppliant in the young man's behalf, and entreated Archelaus again to betroth her to him. With a plausible air Archelaus gave him his permission to unite her to whom he would, except Alexander ; as he deemed it of the highest importance to respect, as regarded him, the ties of inter-marriage.

To this the king replied, that his son would esteem it a lasting favour if he did not dissolve the marriage, particularly as a family had been

the fruit of the union, and as he was so devotedly attached to his wife; respect for whom, should she continue his consort, would withdraw him from the errors into which he had fallen, while, were she torn from him, it might drive him to utter despair; for the daring spirit of enterprise becomes chastened when brought under the influence of the domestic affections. Archelaus, reluctantly assenting, was reconciled to the offender, to whom he in turn reconciled his father: adding, that it was essential, notwithstanding, that he should be sent to Rome, for an interview with Cæsar, as he had transmitted to him a full account of the matter.

6. Such was the favourable issue of the manœuvre of Archelaus for the rescue of his son-in-law. The reconciliation concluded, they spent the time in festivities and friendly offices. When Archelaus was about to take his leave, Herod presented him with seventy talents in money, a throne of gold studded with gems, some eunuchs, and a concubine, named Pannychis. Due honours, also, were paid to his several friends, according to their rank. Magnificent presents were, likewise, by Herod's order, made to Archelaus by the various branches of the royal family. He was then escorted by the king and his nobles as far as Antioch.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. NOT long after, there came into Judæa a man, who, in the arts of intrigue, far excelled Archelaus, and who not only broke up the reconciliation which had been negotiated by him in behalf of Alexander, but even occasioned his destruction. He was a Spartan, by name Eurycles. An inordinate love of money had produced his ill-omened visit to the kingdom, Greece no longer supporting his extravagance. To Herod, as a bait to secure his object, he brought splendid presents, and these he saw ere long returned with ample interest. He valued not, however, the mere compliment of a gift, unless he could, through bloodshed, make merchandize of the kingdom. He, accordingly, won upon the king, as well by adulation, and conversational talents, as by the false encomiums he passed on him; and quickly discerning Herod's disposition, and ever seeking to gratify him, both by his words and actions, he was numbered among his chief friends. For both the king and his courtiers yielded a cheerful preference to the Spartan, in honour of his country.

2. When he had ascertained the unsoundness of family ties in the household, the quarrel between the brothers, and how the father was disposed toward each, Eurycles accepted the hospitality of Antipater, while, by a simulated friendship, he imposed on Alexander, pretending an intimacy of old standing with Archelaus. He was, therefore, immediately received as a man of tried fidelity. Nor was he long in recommending himself to his brother Aristobulus. Having acquainted himself with their respective characters, he made his advances to each by a different method; and, while the actual hireling of Antipater, he was the betrayer of Alexander. To the former he insinuated that it would be disgraceful, should he—the eldest son, overlook those who were intriguing against his prospects; and to Alexander, should he—sprung from a queen, and with a queen for his consort, permit the son of a private woman to succeed to the throne; more especially as he might reckon upon the very powerful assistance of Archelaus. He was, therefore, while feigning himself a friend of Archelaus, regarded by the young man as a faithful counsellor. Alexander, in consequence, dissembling nothing, gave expression to his injured feelings towards Antipater; observing, that it would occasion him no surprise, should Herod, as he had already put their mother to death, deprive them of her kingdom—Eurycles, meantime, pretending commiseration and sympathy. Having enticed Aristobulus, also, into similar language, and entrapped the brothers into complaints against their father, he hastened to Antipater with the secrets; adding a fiction of his own, that the brothers were plotting against him, and were all but sword in hand. Having received a liberal remuneration for this intelligence, he was the eulogist of Antipater with the father; and having at length bargained for his price, should he effect the death of Alexander and Aristobulus, he became their accuser to him.

Waiting on Herod, he stated, that in return for his favours, he would repay him with life, and requite his hospitality with the light of heaven. For a sword had long been sharpened for his destruction, and the right hand of Alexander nerved to employ it. He had himself, he said, however, by pretending to further the design, thrown impediments in the way of its speedy execution. For the language held by Alexander was, that Herod was not content with reigning over the empire of another, and, after murdering their mother, with ruining her kingdom by his extravagance; but he had farther introduced a spurious successor, handing over the crown of their ancestors to that pestilent Antipater. He would, therefore, avenge the spirits of Hyrcanus and Mariamne, for it did not become him to receive the

government from such a father without bloodshed. Many things, besides, were daily irritating him ; so that he could not utter a word which did not afford occasion for some remark to his disadvantage. If mention were made of the nobility of others, it became the source of an unjust reflection upon himself ; his father observing that Alexander alone was noble, yet disgraced his father, through his ignoble conduct. Were they hunting, and he was silent, they were offended ; if he praised, they pronounced it irony. Their father, they invariably found implacable, Antipater engrossing his affections. When he thought of him, he would cheerfully die, if the conspiracy did not succeed ; while, should he kill his father, there were abundant means of safety. First, there was Archelaus his father-in-law, to whom he could easily fly ; and next, Cæsar, who to this day was ignorant of Herod's character. Nor would he appear before him as formerly, awed at his father's presence ; nor speak merely of his own accusations. He would commence with setting-forth the calamities of the whole kingdom, ground to death with taxation. He would then descant upon the luxury and proceedings which had exhausted the money obtained by blood ; and state who had been enriched with our spoils ; and to what class of persons the cities had been entrusted. He would there, also, inquire into the fate of his grandfather, and of his mother, and proclaim all the pollutions of the kingdom. For these reasons he would not be adjudged a parricide.

3. Having concluded this marvellous charge against Alexander, Eurycles broke forth into warm eulogiums of Antipater, as if he alone had loved his father, and had, on that account, up to the present moment, been an obstacle to the conspiracy. The king, who had yet scarcely recovered from previous uneasiness, now burst out into ungovernable fury ; on which Antipater, following up the opportunity, privately sent in other accusers against the young men, to state that they had frequent secret interviews with Jucundus and Tyrannus, at one period masters of the royal horse, but then, for some misdemeanours, degraded.

Enraged beyond all bounds by these allegations, Herod ordered the men to instant torture : but they made no confession of the imputed crimes. A letter was produced, however, said to have been written by Alexander to the governor of a castle belonging to Herod, requesting him to admit himself and Aristobulus his brother, after they should have assassinated their father, and to permit them to use the arms, and other stores. This letter Alexander asserted to be a forgery of Diophantus, the king's secretary, a daring character, and a singular adept in counterfeiting every handwriting ;

and who, after committing numerous forgeries of that nature, eventually suffered death in consequence. The governor of the castle was, likewise, put to the question by Herod; yet neither from him was any thing elicited connected with the charges preferred.

4. But though the evidence was thus weak, Herod gave command narrowly to watch his sons, who were not yet imprisoned, while that bane of his family, and the principal actor in this atrocity, Eurycles, he styled his preserver and benefactor, and rewarded him with fifty talents. Eurycles anticipated the arrival of any accurate account of this affair in Cappadocia, and procured money from Archelaus also, having had the effrontery to state that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. From thence he passed over into Greece, and there employed his infamous gains for similar purposes. He was, accordingly, twice accused before Cæsar of having filled Achaia with sedition, and of plundering its towns; and was finally driven into banishment. Thus was he overtaken by retribution for his conduct to Aristobulus and Alexander.

5. It may not be improper to contrast Euaratus of Cos with this Spartan. Being on terms of particular intimacy with Alexander, and arriving during his travels at the same time with Eurycles, the king questioned him as to the truth of the allegations, when Euaratus assured him with an oath that he had heard nothing of the kind from the young men. Yet even this testimony availed not these hapless youths. For what tended to their disadvantage, to that did Herod most willingly listen, and to that alone; and they were the most acceptable to him who coincided in his credulity, and shared his indignation.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. SALOME, however, still farther whetted Herod's cruelty against his sons. Wishing to involve her, at once his mother-in-law and aunt, in the dangers which surrounded his brother and himself, Aristobulus had sent, cautioning her to consult her safety, as the king was prepared to kill her, on the charge, previously preferred against her, of having in her anxiety to marry Syllæus the Arabian, privately disclosed to him, an avowed enemy, the king's secrets. This, as it were the last effort of the storm, overwhelmed the young men, sorely tossed already by the tempest; for Salome, running to the king, informed

him of the caution she had received, on which, no longer master of himself, he threw his sons into chains, and confined them apart from each other. He then with all haste despatched Volumnius, military tribune, and his friend Olympus, to Cæsar, with the informations in writing. These sailing for Rome delivered the king's letter to Cæsar, who, though greatly distressed at the situation of the young men, felt nevertheless the impropriety of depriving the father of authority over his sons. He wrote back, accordingly, giving him full power in the matter; adding, that he would do well, however, to institute inquiry into the conspiracy before a general council of his own relations and of the governors of the province. Should his sons be convicted, he might inflict the extreme penalty; if they had merely meditated flight, he should punish them with less severity.

2. In accordance with these instructions, Herod removed to Berytus, as Cæsar had directed, and there assembled the court. The governors, with Saturninus, and the other legates with Pedanius, presided, agreeably to Cæsar's injunctions. With these, also, was the procurator Volumnius, next the king's kindred and friends, Salome also and Pheroras; and, after them, all the leading men of Syria, with the exception of king Archelaus, whom, as Alexander's father-in-law, Herod regarded with distrust. His sons, however, with crafty precaution, he avoided producing before the court; well aware that their mere appearance would have excited universal compassion; and that, should they be permitted to speak, Alexander would easily rebut the charges. They were therefore detained in custody at Platane, a village of the Sidonians.

3. Rising from his seat, the king inveighed against them as if present. The conspiracy, indeed, he urged but feebly, as being deficient in evidence on that head; but the invectives, and jests, and insults, and a thousand offences against himself, which were more grievous even than death, he fully laid before the court. No one contradicting him, he called on them severally to give their votes; lamenting that while achieving a bitter triumph over his sons, he would himself be the victim.

Saturninus first delivered his opinion, condemning the young men, but not to death; remarking that it would not be right for him, who had three sons present, to vote for the destruction of the children of another. In concurrence with his, was the decision of the two legates, and some others followed their example. Volumnius was the first to recommend the severest measures; and all who succeeded condemned the young men to death: some from a spirit of adulation; others from hatred to Herod; but no one from indignation against the youths.

Then was all Syria and Judæa in suspense, awaiting the conclusion of the drama. Yet none supposed that Herod would be so cruel as to embroe his hands in the blood of his offspring. Having dragged his sons to Tyre, he there embarked with them for Cæsarea, and deliberated on the mode in which he should destroy them.

4. In the mean time an old soldier of the king, by name Tero, who had a son on terms of close intimacy and friendship with Alexander, and who was himself personally attached to the young men, from excessive indignation at what was going forward, became deranged, and went about proclaiming aloud, that justice was trampled on, truth had perished, the laws of nature were confounded, and life full of iniquity; adding whatever passion could suggest to one reckless of life.

He had at length the audacity to approach the king, and thus address him: "To me, indeed, you appear most ill-fated, trusting as you do the vilest of men to the injury of your dearest relations; inasmuch as, after having repeatedly condemned to death Pheroras and Salome, you now credit them to the prejudice of your sons—persons, who cutting off your legitimate successors, deliver you to Antipater alone, choosing him as king who will be most subservient to themselves. You should consider, however, whether the death of the brothers may not render him an object of hatred to the army. For there is not a soldier who does not pity the young men; while of the officers, many even openly express their indignation." And he forthwith named the parties. These, with Tero and his son, were immediately arrested by order of the king.

5. At this moment an individual, named Typho, one of the court barbers, rushed from the crowd in a kind of frenzy, and thus informed against himself: "Me, too, has this Tero tampered with to cut your throat with my razor when in attendance on you, promising me a large reward from Alexander." Herod, on hearing this, submitted Tero to the torture, with his son and the barber. The two former having denied the charge, and the latter saying nothing farther, the king directed that Tero should be racked more severely: upon which his son, moved with compassion, promised the king to make a full disclosure if he would spare his father. Herod acceding, he stated that his father, at the instigation of Alexander, intended to assassinate him. This, some alleged, he fabricated to rescue his father from the torture, while others asserted that it was true.

6. The king, having in a public assembly accused the officers and Tero, arrayed the populace against them; and they and the barber were beaten to death upon the spot with bludgeons and stones.

Herod, having sent his sons to Sebaste, which is not far from Cæsarea, ordered them to be strangled. This command being forthwith executed, he directed their bodies to be conveyed to the fortress of Alexandrium, there to be entombed with Alexander their maternal grandfather. Such was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. **THOUGH** Antipater's right to the succession was now indisputable, he became an object of intolerable abhorrence to the nation; all knowing that he was the contriver of all the calumnies against the brothers. He was seized, moreover, with the deepest alarm, when he beheld, advancing to maturity, the offspring of his murdered kinsmen: for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, Tigranes and Alexander; and Aristobulus three, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus, and two daughters, Herodias and Mariamne, by Bernice, Salome's daughter. Glaphyra, after the execution of Alexander, Herod had sent back with her dower to Cappadocia. Bernice, Aristobulus' consort, he espoused to Antipater's maternal uncle: a match negotiated by Antipater in order to conciliate Salome, with whom he was at variance. He won upon Pheroras, also, and Cæsar's friends, by presents and various attentions; no small sum of money being transmitted to Rome. But the party of Saturninus, in Syria, were glutted with his gifts.

Yet the more he gave, the more he was hated, as if he were not liberal from munificence, but prodigal through fear. It resulted, accordingly, that the objects of his favours entertained for him no greater kindness, whilst those whom he overlooked regarded him with the deeper enmity. The presents he distributed became daily more costly when he saw the king, contrary to the hopes he had cherished—taking charge of the orphans, and evincing his remorse for the murdered parents by his compassion for their offspring.

2. For Herod, on a previous occasion, having assembled his kindred and friends, placed the children before them, and, while his eyes became filled with tears, spoke thus—

“Cruel fate has bereaved me of the fathers of these, whom nature, and pity for their orphanage, recommend to my protection. It shall be my endeavour, though I have been a most unfortunate

father, to prove myself a less austere grandfather, and after my death to leave them under the guardianship of my nearest friends. I therefore betroth your daughter, Pheroras, to the elder of these brothers, the sons of Alexander, that you may feel constrained to be his guardian. To your son, Antipater, I affiance the daughter of Aristobulus; for you will thus become a father to that orphan girl. And her sister my Herod shall take, he whose maternal grandfather was high-priest. Let him, therefore, who loves me hold the same purpose, which I am persuaded no friend of mine will render abortive. And I farther pray God to cement these marriages for the benefit of my kingdom and my posterity; and to look on these children with serener eyes than those with which he beheld their fathers."

3. As he uttered these words he wept, and having joined the children's right hands, and tenderly embraced each, he dismissed the assembly. Antipater instantly stood petrified; and his chagrin was evident to all. For he conjectured that the honour conferred on these orphans by his father would be his own ruin; and that his throne would be endangered should Alexander's sons enjoy the two-fold support of Archelaus and of Pheroras, a tetrarch. He reflected, moreover, on the odium with which he was himself viewed, and on the compassion felt for these orphans by the nation: how warmly the Jews were attached to the brothers in life, and when cut off by his artifices, how fondly they remembered them. He therefore determined, by all possible means, to render abortive these betrothals.

4. Afraid of alarming his father, who was of a stern disposition, and whose suspicions were easily awakened, instead of employing his usual craft, Antipater ventured at once into his presence, and without reserve besought him not to deprive him of the dignity which he had himself conferred, nor leave him the name of a kingdom, while others enjoyed the power. For he could not rule the state, should Alexander's son, already the grandson of Archelaus, become the son-in-law of Pheroras; and he therefore earnestly entreated him to alter these matrimonial arrangements, as there was so numerous a family in the palace. For the king had nine wives, by seven of whom he had issue: Antipater by Doris, and Herod by Mariamne, daughter of the high-priest; Antipas, and Archelaus, by Malthace, the Samaritan, and a daughter, Olympias, who had been united in marriage to Joseph, his brother's son: Herod and Philip, by Cleopatra, of Jerusalem; and Phasaëlus, by Pallas. He had, besides, two daughters, Roxana and Salome, the one by Phædra, the other by Elpis. Two of his wives, the one his cousin, the other his niece, were childless. In addition to these, were two daughters by Mariamne, sisters of

Alexander and Aristobulus. As the royal family was thus numerous, Antipater besought his father to alter the projected marriages.

5. The king, on discovering his feelings towards the orphans, became deeply incensed; and the thought suggested itself to him, in reference to his murdered sons—might they not also have been the subjects of Antipater's calumnies? Addressing him, accordingly, in a long and angry reply, he dismissed him from his presence. In the sequel, however, won over by his adulation, he made other dispositions, and affianced to him the daughter of Aristobulus, and his son to the daughter of Pheroras.

6. One may learn how powerful was the effect of Antipater's adulation on this occasion, from Salome's proving unsuccessful in like circumstances. For when she, his sister withal, preferred her earnest request through Julia, Cæsar's consort, to be allowed to marry Syllæus, the Arabian, Herod swore that if she did not abandon the project, he would hold her as his bitterest enemy; and he eventually, against her inclinations, united her to Alexas, a friend of his, to whose son he also affianced one of her daughters. The other he gave in marriage to Antipater's maternal uncle. Of his daughters by Mariamne, one was espoused to Antipater, his sister's, and the other to Phasaëlus, his brother's son.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. ANTIPATER, having cut off the hopes of the orphans, and arranged the marriages as best suited his interests, reposed in the security of his prospects; and, adding confidence to wickedness, became insufferable. For, unable to disarm the hatred with which he was universally regarded, he built his safety on the terror he inspired; and Pheroras, who looked on him as already in sure possession of the crown, lent him his aid. There was, moreover, a party of women at court, who occasioned new disturbances. For the consort of Pheroras, supported by her mother and sister, and also by Antipater's mother, conducted herself with great haughtiness in the palace, and ventured even to insult the king's two daughters. She became, in consequence, the object of Herod's utter aversion. Yet, though they were hated by him, the influence of these women was paramount. The only foe to their league was Salome, who reported unfavourably of their combi-

nation to the king, as auguring no good to his affairs. Informed of the accusation, and of Herod's consequent indignation, they abandoned their public meetings, and interchange of civilities, and even dissembled so far as to quarrel with one another in the king's hearing. Following their example in hypocrisy, Antipater before others assailed Pheroras, while they still continued their secret meetings and nocturnal carousals; the vigilance with which they were watched only confirming their unanimity. Nothing that occurred, however, escaped the knowledge of Salome, who communicated all to the king.

2. Herod now became fiercely exasperated, and particularly against the wife of Pheroras; for her had Salome chiefly criminated. Having, accordingly, convened a council of his friends and relations, he accused her of numerous misdemeanours, of insolence to his daughters, of having bribed the Pharisees to his prejudice, and of having raised him up an enemy in his own brother, whom she had enslaved by means of drugs. At length he addressed himself to Pheroras, bidding him choose one of two,—either his brother, or his wife. Pheroras replying that he would rather part with existence than with his wife, Herod, at a loss how to act, turned to Antipater, and commanded him to hold intercourse neither with Pheroras' wife, with himself, nor with any other of her connexions.

Antipater, though he did not openly violate this injunction, would secretly pass the night with them; until, dreading the vigilance of Salome, he contrived a journey to Rome, by the aid of his Italian friends. For letters arriving from them, recommending that Antipater should after some time visit the court of Cæsar, Herod sent him without delay, attended by a splendid retinue, and furnished with a very large supply of money; entrusting to him at the same time his will, in which he declared Antipater King, and Herod, the son of Mariamne—daughter of the high-priest, Antipater's successor.

3. Regardless of Cæsar's commands, Syllæus, the Arabian, likewise set sail for Rome, to counterwork Antipater in the matter on which he had previously been impeached by Nicolaus. There was, moreover, a serious suit pending between him and Aretus, his own sovereign; he having put to death many of Aretus' friends, and also Sohemus, the most powerful individual in Petra. He had further prevailed on Phabatus, Cæsar's procurator, by a large sum of money, to assist him against Herod; but the latter, by still more ample bribes, withdrew Phabatus from Syllæus, and through him endeavoured to exact from Syllæus what Cæsar had required. But Syllæus not only refused to furnish supplies, but preferred an accusation

against Phabatus before Cæsar, alleging that he used his office not so much for the emperor's as for Herod's benefit.

Enraged at this, Phabatus, who continued to be very highly honoured by Herod, betrayed to him the secrets of Syllæus, and informed the king that, with a sum of money, he had corrupted Corinthus, one of his body guards, whom he would therefore do well to watch. On this advice the king acted, for Corinthus, though brought up in Herod's dominions, was an Arabian by birth; and he forthwith arrested, not him alone, but two of his countrymen also, who were found in his company; the one, a friend of Syllæus, the other, chief of a tribe. Being put to the torture, they confessed that they had induced Corinthus, by a large reward, to assassinate Herod. They were, therefore, further examined before Saturninus, president of Syria, and sent up to Rome.

4. Herod, meanwhile, ceased not to use all his influence with Pheroras to divorce his wife. But though he had abundant cause to dislike her, he was still unable to devise any means, by which he could bring the woman to punishment; and ultimately, from extreme vexation, he banished both her and his brother from the kingdom. Pheroras rejoiced that he was visited only with insult, and removed to his own tetrarchy, protesting, with an oath, that there should be but one termination to his exile, Herod's decease. Nor did he return to his brother during his illness, though earnestly invited; for Herod desired to give him some instructions, as he considered himself at the point of death. Contrary to expectation, however, he recovered.

Not long after, Pheroras, having fallen sick, Herod evinced a milder spirit; for he went to see him, and affectionately attended him. But he was unable to subdue the disease. In a few days Pheroras expired. Yet though Herod loved him till his dying hour, a report was spread that he had taken him off by poison. His remains were conveyed to Jerusalem, where a solemn and general mourning was appointed for him by order of Herod, who honoured him with the most sumptuous obsequies. Such was the end of one of the murderers of Alexander and Aristobulus.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. PUNISHMENT, originating in the death of Pheroras, overtook Antipater, the instigator of all. For some freed men of the deceased, waiting mournfully on the king, informed him that his brother had been carried off by poison; his wife having conveyed to him something which had been prepared in an unusual manner, on eating which he was immediately taken ill. They added, that, two days before, her mother and sister had brought from Arabia a woman skilled in poisons, to mix a philtre for Pheroras; but that, instead of this, she had, at the instance of Syllæus, to whom she was known, administered to him a deadly draught.

2. Tormented, therefore, with various suspicions, the king put the female attendants, and some of the freed women, to the torture. One of them cried out in her agonies, "The God, who governs earth and heaven, punish that source of all our sufferings, Antipater's mother!" Following this clue, the king proceeded in his inquiries into the truth. The woman disclosed the intimacy of Antipater's mother with Pheroras, and his wives; their secret meetings; and that Pheroras and Antipater would drink with them for a whole night on their return from the king; not permitting a single domestic, male or female, to be present. This information was given by one of the freed women.

3. The female slaves were next tortured, each separately. They were unanimous in their statement as to the foregoing particulars; and that it was by a concerted plan that Antipater had withdrawn to Rome, and Pheroras to Petra. For they had often said, "That Herod, now that he had slain Alexander and Aristobulus, would proceed to assail them and their wives. For he who had not spared Mariamne, and her children, would spare none besides. It were better, therefore, to flee as far as possible from this wild beast."

Frequently, too, they said, would Antipater complain to his mother in these terms:—"He was already grey, while his father was daily growing young; and perhaps death would overtake him ere he had exercised indeed the functions of a king. But even should Herod die—and when would that be?—his enjoyment of the succession must be extremely short. These hydra heads—the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, were shooting up. He had been deprived by his father of the hope he entertained for his children, since Herod's son by Mariamne was nominated heir, to the exclusion of his offspring. That

his father should suppose that this part of his will would stand, only proved that he was in the wanderings of dotage; for he would take care that none of his posterity should survive.

“Of all who had ever been fathers, none had borne such hatred to his children; but much more intense was his abhorrence of his brother. Accordingly, he had lately given him a hundred talents to relinquish all intercourse with Pheroras. The latter, inquiring what injury he had done him, Antipater replied: Would that after depriving us of every thing he would permit us, though naked, to live! But it is utterly impossible to escape such a murderous wild beast, who will not suffer us openly to testify affection for any one. We, therefore, now meet secretly: but we shall do so openly, if we ever have the spirit and hands of men.”

4. Such were the statements made, under torture, by the women, who added that Pheroras wished to flee with them to Petra. To all these declarations Herod attached credit from the mention of the hundred talents; for to Antipater alone had he spoken of them. Doris, Antipater's mother, was the first, in consequence, to feel his bitter resentment; and having stripped her of all the ornamental apparel he had presented to her, and it was many talents in value, he a second time banished her from court. The females of Pheroras' household he took particular care of after their sufferings, being now reconciled to them. He was, nevertheless, distracted with fear, and agitated by every suspicion; and many of the innocent did he drag to the torture, apprehensive lest one guilty individual should escape.

5. His attention was now turned to Antipater of Samaria, the steward of Antipater. From him, when under torture, he learned, that Antipater had sent to Egypt by Antiphilus, one of his associates, for a drug to poison him; and that Theudio, Antipater's uncle, had taken it from his hands, and delivered it to Pheroras. For to him had Antipater given it in charge to kill his father, while he was himself in Rome, removed from suspicion. Pheroras, he added, had delivered the poison to his wife.

Her the king sent for immediately, ordering her, on her arrival, to bring what she had received. She withdrew as if to do so, but, anticipating conviction, and torture from the king, she threw herself from the roof. By the providence, however, as it seemed, of God, who had doomed Antipater to punishment, she fell not on her head, but on some other part of her body, and was preserved. She was carried to the king, who, having directed that restoratives should be administered, as she had been stunned by the fall, asked for what reason she had thrown herself down, and swore, that—“if she would

reveal the truth he would remit all punishment; but that, if she concealed aught, he would tear her body piecemeal on the rack, and leave nothing for sepulture."

6. To this the woman, after some hesitation, replied: "And why should I, now that Pheroras is dead, withhold these secrets to save Antipater, who has been the ruin of us all? Hear then, O king; and with you be that God, who cannot be deceived, a witness of my truth. When you were sitting weeping beside the dying Pheroras, he called me to him, and said; 'Greatly, my wife, have I been mistaken as to my brother's feelings towards me, seeing that I hated one thus tenderly attached to me; and conspired to murder a man, who is so deeply distressed on my account, though I am not yet dead. I indeed receive the reward of impiety; but do you bring the poison, which was left with us by Antipater, and which you keep for his destruction, and destroy it instantly before my eyes, that I may not suffer from the avenger in a future world.' This I brought as he directed, and emptied the greater portion into the fire in his sight, but reserved a little for myself—a resource against unforeseen ill, and my fears from you."

7. Having said thus, she produced the box, in which was still a small quantity of the poison. The king now applied the torture to Antiphilus's mother and brother, who both confessed that Antiphilus had brought the box from Egypt, and that he had procured the drug from a brother of his, who had practised medicine in Alexandria. Then did the avenging spirits of Alexander and Aristobulus, roaming through the palace, investigate and divulge things unknown, and drag to conviction those farthest removed from suspicion.

It was thus discovered that Mariamne, daughter of the high-priest, was cognizant of this conspiracy, as attested by her brothers when on the rack. This audacious conduct of the mother the king avenged upon her offspring; and he accordingly expunged from his will the name of her son Herod, whom he had appointed successor to Antipater.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. THESE depositions were corroborated by Bathyllus, who, being the freed man of Antipater, furnished the last link in the evidence of his designs. He came, bringing another deleterious mixture, the poison of asps, and the juices of other serpents, which had been pre-

pared, in order that should the first fail, Pheroras and his wife might still be armed against the king. As an appendage to Antipater's audacious attempts upon his father, he produced the letters contrived by him to the prejudice of his brothers, Archelaus and Philip, sons of the king, who were pursuing their studies in Rome, and were now grown up youths, and full of manly spirit.

Of these, as obstacles to his hopes, Antipater hastened to rid himself; and, with that view, he drew up, with his own hand, several letters to their detriment, in the name of his friends at Rome, and others he prevailed on by bribes to write, that they had spoken disrespectfully of their father, publicly bewailed Alexander and Aristobulus, and felt indignant at their recal. Their father had already sent for them: a circumstance, which gave Antipater peculiar uneasiness.

2. But further:—prior to his journey, and while he was yet in Judæa, he had paid money to get letters of like purport sent from Rome against them, and going to his father, who then entertained no suspicions of his treachery, he apologized for his brothers; observing that some of the offences were falsely imputed to them, and that others were youthful indiscretions. But at Rome, while he lavished vast sums of money on the writers of these statements against the brothers, he endeavoured to confuse the evidence of his own expenditure, by the purchase of costly vestments, and carpets of variegated texture, with gold and silver cups, and many articles of value, that by the extravagant outlay on these, he might conceal his largesses for the purposes we have stated. He, accordingly, furnished an account of expenditure to the amount of two hundred talents, and for this his chief pretext was his suit with Syllæus.

But, at such a moment, when all his minor offences stood exposed in his more heinous crime, and when every repetition of the torture aloud proclaimed him a parricide, and while the letters brought to light his second fratricide, still not an individual who visited Rome acquainted him with his fortunes in Judæa, though between his conviction and return seven months intervened; in such universal abhorrence was he held. Perhaps, indeed, the spirits of his murdered brothers closed the mouths of those who would have informed him of his situation. He therefore wrote from Rome, announcing his early return, and that he had been courteously dismissed by Cæsar.

3. In haste to get the conspirator into his hands, and fearing lest, if aware of his intention, he should be upon his guard, the king addressed him by letter, dissembling in his turn, employing many expressions of affection, and entreating him to make no delay; promising, should he comply, to forego his complaints against his mother. For Anti-

pater was not ignorant of her expulsion from the palace. Prior to this, however, he had received a letter at Tarentum, announcing the death of Pheroras, on which he had given loud expression to his grief, which some applauded, ascribing it to sorrow for his uncle. But his perturbation, probably, arose from the failure of the conspiracy; and he wept rather for his agent, than for Pheroras. He was besides already alarmed for his past proceedings, lest possibly the poison should have been discovered. Notwithstanding, on receiving in Cilicia the letter from his father above referred to, he instantly hurried forward.

When he was sailing into the harbour of Celenderis, a thought of his mother's misfortunes took possession of him; his mind already involuntarily foreboding evil. The more prudent of his friends, therefore, advised him not to place himself in his father's power before he had ascertained the reasons of his mother's expulsion, as they were apprehensive lest there should have been some addition to the charges against her.

But the less reflecting, anxious rather to see their country than attentive to Antipater's welfare, exhorted him to expedite his journey, and not by delay suggest to his father's mind an injurious suspicion, while he furnished his traducers with matter for calumny. For, if anything had now been mooted against him, advantage had been taken of his absence, as no one would have ventured on such a step, had he been upon the spot. It was absurd to forego certain happiness, because of uncertain suspicions, and not at once restore himself to his father, and receive the sceptre, which, in his unaided sway, was wielded with indecision. To these, impelled by fate, Antipater listened; and sailing across, he disembarked at Sebaste, the haven of Cæsarea.

4. But here a total solitude unexpectedly presented itself, all turning away, and no one daring to approach him. Equally an object of hatred he had ever been, but now that hatred had liberty to manifest itself. Fear of the king, too, kept many aloof from him, as the whole city was already filled with rumours against Antipater, while Antipater, alone, was unacquainted with what so deeply concerned himself. On his embarkation for Rome, none was ever more splendidly attended, nor was any received with greater dishonour on his return.

Already surmising the calamities at home, he yet craftily dissembled; and, though inwardly expiring with terror, he assumed a forced air of composure. Room for flight, however, there was none, nor outlet from the difficulties that surrounded him. Moreover, no

certain tidings from his family were told him there, owing to the threats of the king. Occasionally, indeed, he had a more cheering hope, that perhaps nothing had been discovered; or, possibly, should any thing have been brought to light, that he could dissipate the danger by effrontery and artifice, now his sole means of safety.

5. Fortified, therefore, with these he entered the palace unattended by his friends, who had been stopped with insult at the outer gate. Varus, the President of Syria, happened to be within at the time. Antipater proceeded into his father's presence, and, animating himself to confidence, approached as if to salute him. Herod holding up his hands before him, and turning away his face, exclaimed: "Even this betrays the parricide, that he should wish to embrace me, while he is involved in such imputations. Perish, most impious wretch, and touch me not, till you have cleared yourself of these charges. I shall provide you with a tribunal, and with a judge in Varus, thus seasonably arrived. Withdraw, and be prepared with your defence by to-morrow. I afford you the interval for the exercise of your ingenuity." Unable through consternation to reply, Antipater retired; but being visited by his wife and mother, who acquainted him with all the evidence, he recovered himself, and proceeded to consider his defence.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. On the day following the king convened a court of his kindred and friends, inviting also the friends of Antipater. Herod, presiding in conjunction with Varus, directed all the witnesses to be produced. Among them were some servants of Antipater's mother, who had been taken not long before, conveying a letter from her to her son. It was as follows:—"As your father has discovered all the facts, do not return to him, unless you shall previously have obtained support from Cæsar." These with the others having been introduced, Antipater entered, and falling prostrate at his father's feet, said—"I beseech you, father, not to condemn me prematurely, but to listen with unprejudiced ears to my defence; for I shall establish my innocence, if you permit."

2. Herod, having in an angry tone commanded him to be silent, thus addressed Varus: "I am persuaded that you, Varus, and every upright judge, will pronounce Antipater an abandoned wretch. But I fear, indeed, that you will abhor my fortune, and deem me deserving of every calamity, who have begotten such children. And, yet, should

I not rather be pitied, in having been a most affectionate father to such polluted beings? For, after I had vouchsafed to nominate my late sons, while they were still of immature age, my successors, and when, to say nothing of educating them at Rome, I had made them friends of Cæsar, and the envy of other sovereigns, I found them conspirators; and they died, in a great measure, for the sake of Antipater, whose safety, as he was then young, and heir to the crown, was my chief object. But this execrable creature, glutted with my forbearance, has turned his wanton daring on myself.—For my life seemed to him too protracted; and, unable to brook my advanced age, he could not endure the thought of becoming king unless by parricide.

“Justly, however, has he conspired against me, for restoring him from exile, outcast as he was, and declaring him successor to the throne, to the exclusion of the sons whom a queen had borne me. I acknowledge to you, Varus, my infatuation. I exasperated those sons against me by cutting off their just expectations for the sake of Antipater. And, indeed, what kindness did I show them, equal to that conferred on him, to whom in my life-time I have almost entirely resigned my power, and whom I have openly appointed by will successor to the government? I granted him a private income of fifty talents; I supplied him liberally with money out of my personal revenues; and on his embarking for Rome, I gave him three hundred talents, and recommended him, alone of my children, to Cæsar, as his father’s preserver.

“But what impiety did they commit, at all to be compared with Antipater’s? Or what evidence was adduced against them, so convincing as that which proves him a conspirator? Yet does this parricide presume to speak, hoping by his artifices once more to obscure the truth. Varus, you must be on your guard; for I know this creature, and foresee his plausibility, and hypocritical lamentations. This is he, who, formerly, while Alexander lived, cautioned me to beware of him, and not to trust my person to every one. This is he who escorted me even to my bed, and looked round lest any assassin might lurk in concealment. This is he, who allotted my hours of slumber, and dispelled every disquietude; who condoled with my affliction for the destruction of my sons, and ascertained what affection the surviving brothers bore me. My shield-bearer, forsooth, my life-guard! And when I reflect, Varus, on his craftiness and hypocrisy on all occasions, a doubt of my own existence comes upon me, and I wonder how I have escaped such a deep designing wretch. But since some unseen power desolates my house, and unceasingly instigates against me those dearest to my heart, I shall weep my unjust fate, and

groan in secret over my destitution. No one, however, who thirsts for my blood shall escape, even though the proof should involve all my children."

3. Here he ceased, overpowered by conflicting emotions; but ordered Nicolaus, one of his friends, to state the evidence. In the mean time Antipater, raising his head, for he was still lying prostrate at his father's feet, cried out: "Father, you have yourself made my defence. For, how can I be a parricide, whom your own lips confess ever to have been your protector? My filial affection, you call monstrous imposition and hypocrisy. How then could I, on other occasions thus crafty, be so senseless as not to perceive, that, while it would be difficult to screen from the eye of man the wretch who could devise such an atrocity, it would be impossible to conceal him from the Judge of heaven, who sees all things, and is every where present? Or, was I ignorant of the fate of my brothers, whom God so severely visited for their wicked machinations against you?

"But, what then instigated me against you? The prospect of the kingdom? I already reigned. A suspicion of hatred? Was I not beloved? Any other fear from you? Nay, by preserving you I was feared by others. Was it the want of money? Who had such command of it as I? But, had I been the most execrable of men, and had the heart of a fierce beast, must I not have been overpowered, father, by your kindnesses? I whom you brought back from exile, as you have yourself said; whom you preferred before so many of your sons?—declared king in your own life-time;—and by the unbounded magnitude of your other favours, rendered an object of envy. O wretched me! that bitter journey! how favourable an opportunity have I afforded for the workings of envy! How long a term to those who were plotting my ruin! Yet for you, father, and for your suits, I took that journey, to prevent Syllæus from treating your old age with contempt. Rome is witness to my filial piety, as is Cæsar, the master of the world, who frequently called me—The lover of his father. Take these letters, father, which he has written to you. They are more deserving of credit than the malevolent insinuations thrown out here. These are my sole vindication. These I use as proofs of my tender regard for you. Remember with what reluctance I embarked, well aware of the enmity against me which lurked throughout the kingdom. You, father, have been the involuntary cause of my ruin, compelling me, as you did, to afford envy time for calumny. I am present notwithstanding; yes, I am present for conviction, the parricide, who has passed over land and sea, unharmed! But this argument avails me nothing; for I am already condemned both by

God, and you, father. But, though condemned, I entreat you not to credit others' torments; but to let the fire be directed against me: through my bowels let the engines of torture make their way. Do not spare for the shrieks of this polluted body; for, if I am a parricide, I ought not to die unracked." By this address, delivered with cries and tears, Antipater moved all to compassion, and particularly Varus. Herod alone shed no tears. He knew the truth of the evidence, and anger repressed them.

4. Nicolaus, at the king's command, having made many introductory remarks on the subtlety of Antipater, and dispelled the pity he had excited, next powerfully urged the heaviest charge, ascribing to him all the crimes which had distracted the kingdom, and particularly the death of the brothers, whom he proved to have fallen victims to his calumnies. He asserted, moreover, that he was forming designs against the survivors, as if they were lying by, and watching for the succession. For, "can he, who prepared poison for his father, abstain from his brothers?" He then passed on to the evidence of the poison, and brought forward the proofs, in order; expressing the warmest indignation in reference to Pheroras, inasmuch as even him Antipater would have made a fratricide; and, by corrupting those highest in the king's affection, would have filled the whole palace with pollution. Having added to these many other remarks, and adduced his proofs, Nicolaus concluded his address.

5. Varus then called on Antipater for his defence; but he lay in silence, saying nothing more than, "God is witness, that I am altogether innocent." Varus having asked for the poison, gave it to a criminal under sentence of death, who drank it, and instantly expired; then, after a private interview with Herod, having written to Cæsar an account of what had passed in court, on the day following, he took his leave. The king, meanwhile, threw Antipater into prison, and despatched messengers to Cæsar to explain fully the circumstances of this calamity.

6. It was subsequently discovered that Antipater had conspired against Salome also. For one of the domestics of Antipater had arrived from Rome with letters from a female attendant of Julia, whose name was Acme, and who had written to Herod, that she had found some letters from Salome among Julia's papers, and that through motives of regard she had privately transmitted them to him. They contained the bitterest invectives on the part of Salome against the king, and the severest animadversions on his conduct. These letters were drawn up by Antipater, who, bribing Acme, had persuaded her to send them to Herod. This fact was established by her letter to

Antipater. It was as follows :—"As you wished, I have written to your father, and forwarded those letters; and I am persuaded that when the king has read them, he will not spare his sister. You will do well, when all is accomplished, to remember your promises."

7. When this letter was brought to light, with those drawn up against Salome, a suspicion flashed into the king's mind, that possibly the documents criminating Alexander were forged also. He now became exceedingly agonized in mind, for he had been on the point of putting his sister likewise to death, through the intrigues of Antipater. He intended, therefore, at once to visit him with punishment for all his atrocities; but while hastening the preparations, he was arrested by a severe illness. He acquainted Cæsar, however, with Acme's misconduct, and with the machinations against Salome. Asking, moreover, for his will, he altered it, and declared Antipas king, passing over his eldest sons, Archelaus and Philip; for them also had Antipater implicated. To Cæsar, with other pecuniary presents, he bequeathed a thousand talents, and to his wife and children, his friends and freedmen, about five hundred. Among the others generally, he distributed considerable tracts of land, with money to a large amount, and with the most costly gifts distinguished his sister Salome. Such were the amended dispositions of his will.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

HEROD's disease now assumed a more malignant character; age and grief aggravating his ailments, for he had almost attained his seventieth year, while his spirits were broken by the calamities in which his children had involved him: so that, even in health, enjoyment was a stranger to him. His malady, moreover, was augmented by the reflection that Antipater was still alive, and he determined to execute him, not as a fortuitous occurrence, but in due form on his recovery.

2. In the midst of these his distresses, the populace rose in insurrection against him. There were in the city two sophists, Judas, son of Sepphoræus, and Matthias, son of Margalus, reputed to possess a very accurate knowledge of the institutions of their country, and held accordingly in the highest honour by the whole nation. To listen to their exposition of the laws not a few young men assembled, and an

army of those arrived at manhood was daily collected. Hearing that the king was wearing away with melancholy and disease, they threw out hints to their disciples, that a most fitting occasion now presented itself for vindicating the honour of God, and dragging down works set up contrary to the laws of their country. For it was unlawful to introduce into the Temple either statues, or busts, or a work representing any living thing.

Over the great gate the king had erected a golden eagle. This the sophists exhorted their hearers to cut down; saying, that "it was honourable, should any danger attend it, to die for the laws of one's country. For to those thus perishing remained an immortality of soul, and an endless fruition of happiness. It belonged to the ignoble, and those unskilled in the wisdom they possessed, to cling in ignorance to life, and to prefer death from disease to one attained by virtue."

3. While they were speaking in this strain, it was rumoured that the king was dying; and the young men in consequence embarked more boldly in the enterprise. Accordingly, at mid-day, and when many were engaged in the Temple, they let themselves down by thick ropes from the roof, and with hatchets cut away the golden eagle.

This was instantly communicated to the king's lieutenant, who hastened to the spot with a numerous detachment, and having arrested about forty young men, conducted them to the king. Being asked by him, first—whether they had dared to cut down the golden eagle? they confessed it: then, who had ordered them? they replied—the law of their country. To his interrogatory—why they exulted thus in the prospect of destruction? they answered, because they would enjoy greater happiness after death.

4. Exasperated at this language, the king, in the excess of passion, rising superior to his disease, goes forth to the people, and in a long address accused the men of sacrilege, and under pretence of the law, of aiming at something farther, and required that they should be punished as impious. The people, fearing lest many should be involved, importuned him to confine punishment to the instigators of the act, and those detected in it, and to forego his displeasure against the rest. With difficulty prevailed on, he burned alive the chief actors and the sophists. The remainder of those seized in the fact, he delivered to the officers for execution.

5. From this period Herod's disorder spread over his entire frame, and he was racked with complicated sufferings. He had continual fever, though in a mitigated form; an intolerable itching over the whole

surface of his body ; constant pain in the rectum ; tumours in his feet as from dropsy ; an inflammation of the abdomen ; and an ulceration of the loins, generating worms. Besides these, he laboured under a difficulty of respiration, and was unable to breathe except in an upright posture. He had, moreover, convulsive spasms in all his limbs ; so that the divines pronounced his maladies a judgment for his treatment of the sophists.

Yet, though struggling with such accumulated sufferings, he still clung to life, cherishing the hope of recovery, and devising various means of cure. He, accordingly, crossed the Jordan, and used the hot baths of Callirrhoe, the waters of which empty themselves into the lake Asphaltitis, and from their sweetness form a grateful drink. There the physicians advised that his whole body should be fomented with warm oil. On their letting him down into a vessel filled with that fluid, his eyes became relaxed, and he fell back suddenly as if he were dead. The physicians exclaiming, he revived, roused by their cries. From that time, despairing of recovery, he gave orders that fifty drachmas should be distributed to each of the soldiers, and large sums of money among his generals and friends.

6. Leaving Callirrhoe, as if purposing to return to Jerusalem, he reached Jericho, oppressed with melancholy ; and, almost defying death, he devised the perpetration of a horrible atrocity. Having assembled the men of distinction from every village throughout Judæa, he commanded them to be shut up in the Hippodrome. He then called for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and said : " I know that the Jews will keep festival on my death ; but I can be mourned for through others, and obtain splendid obsequies, if you are willing to obey my commands. When I expire, surround with soldiers the men now in custody, and instantly kill them ; that all Judæa, and every house, may reluctantly weep over me."

7. Scarcely had he delivered these injunctions, when letters arrived from his ambassadors in Rome, informing him that Acme had been executed by Cæsar's orders, and that Antipater had been condemned to death. It was added, however, that should Herod prefer banishing him, Cæsar would acquiesce. The desire to live now for a little revived in his breast ; but being again overpowered with pain, and already reduced by want of nourishment, and a convulsive cough, he endeavoured to anticipate the stroke of fate.

Taking up an apple, he called for a knife, as he was in the habit of eating that fruit sliced ; when, looking round lest there should be any one to prevent, he raised his hand to stab himself. Achiabus, his cousin, rushing forward, seized and withheld his hand. Instantly

the palace was filled with the loudest lamentations, as if the king were dying; and the clamour soon reaching the ears of Antipater, his spirits revived, and, elate with joy, he besought the guards to release him from his bonds, and allow him to escape for a reward. The captain, however, not only forbade this, but ran and acquainted the king with his design. The latter, with greater strength than could have been expected from one in his debilitated state, called out to his spearmen to repair immediately to the spot, and dispatch him. This done, he directed the body to be interred at Hyrcanium; and again amending his will, appointed Archelaus his eldest son, brother of Antipas, successor to the throne, and Antipas tetrarch.

8. Herod survived the execution of his son five days. From the time at which, on Antigonus' execution, he became master of the state, he had reigned thirty-four years; but, from the date of his being declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. Though in all other respects favoured by fortune—for if ever man were prosperous he was so, who, born a private individual, ascended a throne, occupied it so long, and bequeathed it to his own children—in his family he was most unhappy. Before the tidings of his death had reached the soldiers, Salome and her husband proceeded from the palace, and liberated the prisoners whom Herod had ordered to be put to death, stating that he had changed his mind, and now desired that they might be all sent back to their homes.

These having taken their departure, Salome informed the soldiers of his decease, and assembled them, together with the people, in the amphitheatre of Jericho. Here Ptolemy, to whom Herod had confided his signet-ring, stepping forward, addressed the multitude, expatiating on the king's good fortune, and condoling with them on their loss. He further read to the troops the letter he had left, in which he earnestly recommended attachment to his successor. He next opened and read the codicil. By it, Trachonitis and the neighbouring territories were demised to Philip; the tetrarchy, as we have already mentioned, to Antipas; and the kingdom to Archelaus, whom he enjoined to carry his ring to Cæsar, with the documents relating to the administration of his dominions sealed up; he having vested in Cæsar the control of the arrangements, and the ratification of the will. The remaining particulars were to be regulated according to the former testament.

9. Congratulatory acclamations immediately greeted Archelaus; and the soldiery, with the populace, marching round in companies, promised their own good will, and invoked also that of God. Preparations were then commenced for the funeral of the king. Archelaus,

omitting nothing that could add to its magnificence, brought forth all the regalia to grace the procession in honour of the deceased. The bier was of solid gold, studded with precious stones; and the bed of variegated purple. On this lay the body, covered also with purple. On his head was placed a diadem, and over him a crown of gold. At his right hand was a sceptre.

Surrounding the bier were Herod's sons, and a numerous party of his relations; next to whom were the guards, and the Thracian bands; the Germans, likewise, and the Gauls: all accoutered as for war. The remaining force, preceded by the generals and subordinate officers, marched in front, armed, and in order. These were followed by five hundred of his domestics and freedmen, bearing aromatic spices. The body was conveyed to Herodium, a distance of two hundred furlongs, where, conformably to his own directions, it was interred. And thus ends the history of Herod.

THE JEWISH WAR.

BOOK II.



ARGUMENT OF THE SECOND BOOK.

1. Archelaus gives a funeral banquet to the people in honour of Herod. A great commotion is raised by the multitude.—2. Archelaus goes to Rome.—3. A severe conflict takes place between the Jews and the soldiers of Sabinus.—4. A mutiny of the troops that had formerly served under Herod. The conduct of Judas, Simon, and Athrongæus.—5. Varus reduces to submission the tumultuous Jews.—6. Cæsar apportions the dominions of Herod among his sons, at his pleasure.—7. Concerning the pseudo-Alexander. Archelaus is banished, and Glaphyra dies.—8. The insurrection of Judas, the Galilæan. The three Jewish sects.—9. The death of Salome. Pilate excites commotions. Herod Antipas is banished.—10. Caius commands his statue to be set up in the Temple.—11. Concerning the death of Agrippa, and of Herod.—12. Felix appointed governor of Judæa.—13. The Assassins, the Mages, and an Egyptian false prophet, excite tumults.—14 and 15. Concerning Festus, Albinus, and Florus, who by his cruelty drives the Jews into a war.—16. Cestius sends Neapolitanus, the tribune, to watch the movements of the Jews.—17. How the Jews commenced the war with the Romans.—18. The misfortunes and the slaughter of the Jews, particularly.—19. The exploits of Cestius in opposing the Jews.—20. Cestius sends a deputation to Nero. The people of Jerusalem appoint a number of commanders, and among them the historian Josephus.—21. Concerning John of Gischala.—22. The Jews make preparations for war.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

1. ARCHELAUS being under the necessity of taking a journey to Rome, fresh disturbances arose in consequence. At the expiration of the seven days' mourning for his father, having entertained the populace at a sumptuous funeral banquet—a custom among the Jews which reduces many to poverty on account of the number who must needs be feasted, it being deemed an act of impiety to omit it—he arrayed himself in a white robe, and proceeded to the Temple, where he was hailed with varied acclamations by the people. Greeting the multitude courteously from a golden throne, placed on an elevated platform, he thanked them for the intentness they had manifested in relation to his father's obsequies, and for their attention to himself, as a securely seated king. He would abstain for the present, he said, not only from assuming the authority, but even the titles, of sovereignty, until the succession should be confirmed to him by Cæsar, who, by the will, had been declared supreme. Accordingly, when the military would have put the diadem on his head at Jericho, he had declined it. He would, however, amply requite the zeal and attachment of the people, as well as of the soldiery, whenever he should be proclaimed by their rulers actual king. For he would study on all occasions to show himself towards them a better man than his father.

2. Delighted at these declarations, the populace instantly put his sincerity to the test by making large demands. Some clamoured for a reduction in the taxes: some for the removal of the customs: others, for the liberation of the prisoners. To all these requests, in order to ingratiate himself with the multitude, he readily acceded; and having offered sacrifice, he withdrew to a banquet with his friends.

Towards evening, however, not a few of those eager for change, collected, and began, now that the public mourning for the king had terminated, to give expression to their private grief, bewailing those whom Herod had punished for cutting away the golden eagle from

the gate of the Temple. Nor was their grief concealed; but piercing lamentations, with responsive dirges, and funeral cries, resounded through the whole city, as for men whom they pronounced to have perished for the laws of their country, and for their Temple. They clamoured for vengeance on those whom Herod had promoted, and required, first, that the person whom he had constituted high priest, should cease his functions; as their welfare demanded that one of greater piety and purity should be elected.

3. Though irritated by these proceedings, Archelaus, in his haste to set out, refrained from calling the authors to account, fearing lest a collision with the populace might retard his journey. He endeavoured, therefore, to restrain the malcontents rather by persuasion, than violence; and privately sent the commander of his forces to exhort them to desist. This officer, on reaching the Temple, and before he had uttered a word, the rioters drove off with stones; while to others, who followed him with the view of reducing them to reason—and many were despatched by Archelaus for the purpose—they uniformly replied in an angry tone; and it became evident, that they would not remain quiet, should they receive an accession to their numbers.

The feast of unleavened bread, by the Jews called the Passover, being now at hand,—a festival, which it is customary to celebrate with a vast multitude of sacrifices,—a countless crowd came up from the country to that solemnity. The rioters, meanwhile, bewailing the sophists, stood in a body in the Temple, supplying fuel to the sedition. Alarmed at this, Archelaus, ere the contagion should spread through the whole multitude, secretly despatched an officer with a cohort to the spot, with instructions to restrain by force the leaders of the insurrection. Irritated by their approach, the populace in a mass assailed the cohort with stones, and killed many of them; the captain escaping wounded, and with difficulty. The people then, as if nothing serious had occurred, proceeded with the sacrifices.

Archelaus, persuaded that it would be impossible to repress the insurgents without bloodshed, let loose on them his entire army—the infantry, in close files through the city, and the cavalry by the plain; and falling upon them suddenly while sacrificing, they slew about three thousand, and dispersed the remainder among the neighbouring mountains. The heralds of Archelaus followed, commanding them to retire to their several homes; and all accordingly withdrew, deserting the festival.

CHAPTER II.

1. **ARCHELAUS**, attended by his mother and his friends, Ptolemy, and Nicolaus, now repaired to the sea-coast, leaving Philip guardian of the royal interests, and superintendent of his domestic affairs. Salome and her sons accompanied them, as did also the king's brothers and sons-in-law: ostensibly, to aid Archelaus in securing the succession; but, in reality, to accuse him of misdemeanours against the Temple.

2. At Cæsarea, they were met by Sabinus, procurator of Syria, who was going up to Judæa to protect Herod's treasures, but had been withheld from proceeding farther by the arrival of Varus, whose presence Archelaus had solicited, urging his request through Ptolemy. For the moment, therefore, Sabinus, in order to gratify Varus, neither hastened to occupy the castles, nor excluded Archelaus from the repositories of the late king's treasures; promising to take no steps until Cæsar had come to a decision. He accordingly remained in Cæsarea. But no sooner had those who hitherto impeded his designs, set out—Varus for Antioch, Archelaus for Rome, than he hurried to Jerusalem, and seized upon the palace. Thither he summoned the governors of the forts, with the administrators of the revenue, and endeavoured to obtain from them an account of the public monies, and also to possess himself of the castles. The governors, however, mindful of the injunctions of Archelaus, continued to retain them; professing to hold them for Cæsar, rather than for Archelaus.

3. In the mean time Antipas had again repaired to Rome, to put in a claim to the crown, urging that the will, in which he had been named king, was of higher validity than the codicil; Salome, having already promised him her assistance, as had, likewise, many of Archelaus' relations, who had embarked with him. He had also taken with him his mother, and Ptolemy, brother of Nicolaus, a man who was thought to have great weight, from the confidence reposed in him by Herod; he being the most honoured of his friends. He mainly relied, however, on Irenæus the rhetorician, a powerful speaker, by whose advice he had declined to listen to those who recommended him to acquiesce in the claim of Archelaus, as founded on seniority, and the codicil. The interest of all his relations at Rome, who viewed Archelaus with dislike, was transferred to him;

and although they would confessedly have much preferred to live under their own laws, administered by a Roman prætor, yet, should they fail in obtaining this, they desired that Antipas should reign.

4. To this end they were aided by Sabinus, who, in his despatches to Cæsar, accused Archelaus, while he wrote in warm praise of Antipas. Salome and her party, moreover, having drawn up charges, placed them in Cæsar's hands. These were replied to by Archelaus, who, having stated the grounds of his claim in writing, sent forward Ptolemy with his father's ring, and the details of his administration. Cæsar having previously weighed in private what title each had to advance, with the extent of the kingdom, its immense revenues, and the number of Herod's children; and having further perused the letters of Varus and Sabinus on the subject, summoned a council of those in office in Rome; giving a seat in that assembly there for the first time to Caius, his adopted son, the offspring of Agrippa and his daughter Julia. He then called on them to proceed.

5. Antipater, the son of Salome, of all Archelaus' opponents the ablest speaker, then rose in support of the prosecution, and observing, "that though just at present Archelaus in words contended for sovereignty, he had in reality long since been king, and was now playing upon the candour of Cæsar, whose decision as to the succession he had not awaited; nay, but after the demise of Herod, had even suborned persons to place the diadem upon his head, and openly seating himself on the throne, had transacted business as king: altered the dispositions of the army; granted promotion; complied with every thing which the people had asked from him as sovereign; and liberated those whom his father, for the most flagrant crimes, had thrown into prison; and yet now came forward, soliciting from the sovereign the shadow of royalty of which he had seized the substance; thus making Cæsar lord, not of things, but names."—He reproached him, still further, with dissimulation, in pretending grief for his father; "during the day assuming a countenance of sorrow, but at night drinking to riotous excess. To this, he said, the late disturbances among the populace were attributable, occasioned by indignation at such conduct. As the point of the entire oration, however, he dwelt strongly on the vast slaughter committed at the Temple on those who had come to a festival, but who, in the midst of their sacrifices, had themselves inhumanly been made victims: so great having been the heaps of dead bodies in the sacred precincts, that even the most ruthless inroad of a foreign foe could not have raised such piles. "It was from a foresight of this cruelty," he said, "that his father had never held out to him a hope of ascending the throne,

until, more enfeebled in mind than body, he was incapable of forming a sound judgment, or of knowing whom he appointed his successor in the codicil : and this too, when he had no complaints to urge against the individual whom he had named in the body of the will, while he was yet in health of body, and while his mind was unaffected by any affliction. But even should it be maintained, that the adjudication of one labouring under disease is the more valid, still had Archelaus forfeited his right to the kingdom by his violation of its laws. Or let him once virtually receive the sceptre from Cæsar, what a monster would he become, when, prior to his receiving it, he had perpetrated such a massacre !”

6. Antipater after speaking at some length in this strain, and producing numerous witnesses from among the relatives of the parties in support of the several allegations, concluded his address. Nicolaus then rose on behalf of Archelaus. He maintained that the slaughter in the Temple was necessary, those who perished there having been enemies not of the kingdom only, but of Cæsar—the umpire in the case. He likewise proved farther, that his accusers themselves were his advisers in the other matters with which he was charged. The codicil, moreover, should, he insisted, for this reason particularly, be held valid, because in it Herod had appointed Cæsar to confirm the succession ; for he, who had been so discreet as to cede his authority to the master of the world, was not likely to be mistaken in his estimate of an heir. He must have been judicious in selecting his successor, who knew how to choose by whom that successor should be appointed.

7. Nicolaus having run over the different topics, Archelaus approached, and threw himself in silence at the feet of Cæsar, who raised him with the utmost courtesy, intimating indeed that he was worthy to succeed his father, but still pronouncing no decision. Having dismissed his assessors of that day, he considered with himself the facts and arguments adduced, and whether it would be proper to appoint as sole successor any of those named in the will ; or whether the government should be distributed, generally, among his children. For there were many for whom it seemed requisite to make a provision.

CHAPTER III.

1. BEFORE Cæsar had come to a decision on these matters, Malthace, Archelaus' mother, was taken ill, and died. Letters also were brought from Varus, then in Syria, relative to a revolt of the Jews. Foreseeing this outbreak, Varus, after Archelaus had set sail, proceeded to Jerusalem to curb the movers of sedition, it being evident that the nation would not remain quiet; and, leaving in the city one of the three legions which he had brought from Syria, he returned to Antioch. The arrival of Sabinus, however, gave occasion for disturbance. For he compelled the garrisons to deliver up the citadels, and made rigid search after the royal treasures; relying not only on the troops left behind by Varus, but on the crowd of his own domestics, all of whom he armed, and employed as agents of his rapacity. On the approach of Pentecost—thus the Jews call a festival, celebrated at the expiration of seven weeks from the Passover, and deriving its appellation from the number of days intervening—indignation, rather than the customary services, occasioned an assemblage of the people. Accordingly, a countless multitude flocked together from Galilee, Idumæa, Jericho, and the Peræa beyond Jordan:—but the people of Judæa, the true national stock, ranked first in numbers and ardour. Dividing themselves into three sections, they formed three encampments; one on the north of the Temple, another on the south, near the Hippodrome; and the third beside the palace on the west. Having thus completely surrounded the Romans, they held them under siege.

2. Sabinus, dreading at once their numbers and intrepidity, despatched courier after courier to Varus, entreating him to hasten to his succour, as, should he delay, the legion would be cut to pieces. He himself, in the mean time, having ascended to the tower called Phasaëlûs,—the highest of the fortress, and deriving its name from Herod's brother who was killed by the Parthians,—from thence motioned with his hand to the legionaries, to attack the enemy; for such was his consternation, that he had not courage to go down even to his own men. The soldiers, obedient to the signal, sprang forward into the Temple, and engaged in a fierce struggle with the Jews. So long as they were unassailed from above, their superior skill proved an over-match for their undisciplined opponents. But when a large body of Jews, having mounted the galleries, threw their missiles down

upon their heads, many fell; and it was not easy either to revenge themselves on an enemy who aimed at them from above, nor yet to sustain the attack of those who fought them in close combat.

3. The Romans, harassed by both, set fire to the colonnades—works, admirable for amplitude and magnificence. Of those who occupied them, numbers suddenly enveloped, perished in the flame: many leaped down on their opponents, and met death at their hands: some threw themselves headlong down the precipitous wall in the rear: whilst others, in despair, with their own swords anticipated the fire. Those who crept down from the ramparts, and advanced upon the Romans, became, owing to their consternation, an easy prey: until, at length, some being slain, and others dispersed through terror, the soldiers fell upon the unprotected treasure of God, and plundered it to the amount of about four hundred talents. Sabinus collected whatever of this was not furtively carried off.

4. The destruction of the buildings and men, however, called up a more numerous and efficient body of adversaries against the Romans. Surrounding the palace, the Jews threatened all with death unless they withdrew instantly; for they had promised immunity to Sabinus, who wished to retire with his legion. A large detachment of the king's troops now deserted to them; but the most warlike division still adhered to the Romans, consisting of three thousand men of Sebaste, at the head of whom were Rufus and Gratus, the latter having under his orders the royal infantry, the former the cavalry;—men who, even had they no force under their command, possessed such personal strength and vigour of intellect as easily to turn the scale of war in favour of the party they espoused.

The Jews however pressed the siege, at once assailing the walls of the fortress, and calling aloud to Sabinus and his troops to depart, nor stand in the way of a people who after so long an interval were now recovering national independence. Sabinus would have been well satisfied to retire, but he distrusted their promises, and suspected that their mildness was a lure to ensnare him; and hoping withal for succours from Varus, he maintained the defence.

CHAPTER IV.

1. MEANTIME the rural districts also, in many quarters, became disturbed; and the opportunity led numbers to aspire to sovereign power. In Idumæa, two thousand soldiers who had formerly served

under Herod, having assembled in arms, attacked the royal forces. They were opposed by Achiabus, the king's cousin, who, avoiding an action in the plains, maintained hostilities from the most defensible positions. In Sepphoris of Galilee also, Judas, son of Hezekias the brigand chief, who at one period overran that region, and was subdued by king Herod, drew together a considerable body, and, breaking open the royal magazines, armed his followers, and attacked alike all the aspirants to power.

2. In Peræa, Simon, one of the palace servants, presuming on the symmetry of his figure, and his tall stature, assumed the diadem. While marching through the country with the freebooters, whom he had collected, he reduced the royal residence in Jericho to ashes, and various other dwellings of the opulent, procuring for himself by the conflagration a greater facility for plunder. And he would have burned down every respectable building, had he not been opposed by Gratus, commander of the king's infantry, with the Trachonite archers, and the most warlike of the Sebastenes. Great numbers of the infantry fell in the conflict. Simon himself, while endeavouring to escape up a steep ravine, Gratus intercepted, and, as he still continued to fly, striking him a side blow on the neck, he cut off his head. The palace at Betharamathon, in the vicinity of the Jordan, was also burnt to the ground, during an insurrection of some other malcontents of Peræa.

3. At this juncture, also, a shepherd named Athrongæus had the audacity to aspire to the kingdom. Physical strength, a soul that looked with contempt on death, and four brothers, who resembled himself, were the sources of his expectations. To each of these he confided an armed band, employing them as generals and satraps, to overrun the country, while he himself, as sovereign, attended to matters of graver moment. Having assumed the diadem, he continued, for no inconsiderable time afterwards, to lay waste the country in conjunction with his brothers. Their avowed orders were to slay Romans and royalists alone; yet the Jews escaped not when any fell into his hands who could replenish his coffers.

He once ventured to surround, at Emmaus, an entire cohort of Romans, who were conveying corn and arms to the legion. He attacked and speared Arius their centurion, and forty of his bravest soldiers. The remainder, in danger of a like fate, under succour of Gratus and the Sebastenes effected their escape. After perpetrating during the whole war many such outrages, both against their own countrymen, and foreigners, three of them in course of time were captured: the eldest by Archelaus, and the two next in seniority by

Gratus and Ptolemæus. The fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, under promise of protection. Such was their end in the sequel; but at this date they filled all Judæa with predatory warfare.

CHAPTER V.

1. To tremble for the safety of the whole legion, and to hasten to its rescue, was the first impulse of Varus on receipt of the despatches from Sabinus and his officers. Accordingly, taking with him the two remaining legions, and the four squadrons of horse attached to them, he marched on Ptolemais, having ordered the auxiliaries from the kings and independent chiefs to rendezvous at that place. He received also from the people of Berytus, on passing through their city, fifteen hundred heavy armed men. When the other division of auxiliaries, and Aretas the Arabian, who from enmity to Herod brought a large accession of horse and foot, had reached Ptolemais, Varus, without loss of time, detached a section of his army into the quarter of Galilee, contiguous to that town, under the command of his friend Caius; the latter routed all that opposed him, and having captured the city of Sepphoris, reduced it to ashes, and its inhabitants to slavery.

Varus, pursuing his route with his whole force to Samaria—which, finding that it had taken no part in the insurrectionary movements of the other towns, he spared—encamped near a village called Arus. This belonged to Ptolemy, and was in consequence sacked by the Arabians, who were infuriated even against the friends of Herod. Thence he advanced to Sampho, another strong village, which the Arabians plundered in like manner, carrying off at the same time all the public money that fell into their hands. The country was filled with fire and carnage; and nothing was proof against the ravages of the Arabians. Emmaus, also, the inhabitants having fled, was, by command of Varus, burned to the ground in revenge for the slaughter of Arius and his party.

2. Thence he proceeded towards Jerusalem, his mere appearance at the head of his troops dispersing the encampments of the Jews. Those who had occupied the entrenchments fled up the country; but the Jews who remained with the townspeople, having opened their gates to him, disclaimed all participation in the revolt, stating that they had excited no disturbances; but that having, in conse-

quence of the festival, necessarily admitted the multitude, they were rather besieged with the Romans, than leagued with the insurgents. Prior to this, he had been met by Joseph, cousin to Archelaus, with Gratus, and Rufus, at the head of the Sebastenes, and of the royal army; and by the legionaries, also, in their usual equipments. Sabinius, not venturing to appear before him, had previously withdrawn from the city to the sea-coast. Varus having directed a division of his forces to scour the country in search of those involved in the crime of sedition, many of them were arrested. Those who seemed, on investigation, comparatively less culpable, he imprisoned: the most guilty, in number about two thousand, he crucified.

3. He had been informed that, in Idumæa, ten thousand still continued in arms. Finding that the Arabians, instead of acting as auxiliaries, conducted the war influenced by private resentment, and, contrary to his wish, committed excesses in the country through hatred of Herod, he dismissed them; and with his own legions hastened against the insurgents, who, ere an action took place, by the advice of Achiabbus, surrendered. The multitude he pardoned: the officers he sent for examination to Cæsar, who liberated all, with the exception of certain of the king's relations; there being among them some allied by birth to Herod. These he ordered to be punished for having risen in arms against a sovereign of their own blood. Varus, having thus settled matters in Jerusalem, and left in garrison the legion formerly there, returned to Antioch.

CHAPTER VI.

1. ANOTHER charge was now brought forward in Rome against Archelaus by some Jews, who, prior to the revolt, had proceeded thither on an embassy by Varus' permission, to plead for national independence. They were fifty in number, and were supported by upwards of eight thousand of their countrymen then residing in Rome. Cæsar, having convened a council of the Romans in office, and of his friends, in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill—an edifice which he had erected at his own charge, and ornamented at a vast expense—the Jews stood in a body with the ambassadors, and Archelaus opposite, with his friends. The friends of Archelaus' relations ranged themselves with neither party; prevented by hatred and envy from countenancing him, and, by respect for Cæsar, from appearing with

his accusers. Besides these, there was present also Philip, Archelaus' brother, previously sent over through kindness by Varus, with a two-fold object; both that he might assist Archelaus, and be allotted a portion, should Cæsar distribute Herod's property among his issue.

2. The accusing party, being allowed to speak, commenced with a recapitulation of Herod's violent proceedings, stating, "That they had found him by experience, not a sovereign, but the most cruel of tyrants. Such were the miseries endured by those who survived the thousands murdered by him, that they accounted them happy who had perished. For he had applied the torture not only to the bodies of his subjects, but to whole cities: dismantling those of his own kingdom, while he beautified those of other nations; and complimenting foreign states with the blood of Judæa. Instead of her ancient happiness, and hereditary laws, he had filled her with poverty, and with the last degree of crime. In a word, the Jews had undergone more calamities from Herod, in a few years, than their forefathers had suffered in the whole interval since their departure from Babylon, on their return to their own country in the reign of Xerxes. But to such a state of humiliation and habitual misfortune were they reduced, that they endured even a self-imposed continuance of their bitter servitude. Archelaus, accordingly, though the son of such a tyrant, they had, on his father's demise, cheerfully acknowledged as king, had mourned with him the death of Herod, and prayed for the prosperity of his reign. But, as if apprehensive lest there should be any doubt of the stock from which he sprang, he had prefaced his reign by the slaughter of three thousand citizens, offering to God so many sacrifices for his government, as he had with corpses filled the Temple at the festival.

"Those, therefore, who had survived such complicated miseries, now at length naturally faced their calamities, wishing to receive their wounds in front by law of war, and to implore the Romans to compassionate the relics of Judæa, and not expose what remained to those who so barbarously rent it, but to unite their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own officers; for, though now calumniated as seditious and inclined for war, they would show that they knew how to obey authority mildly exercised." With this request the Jews closed their accusation. Nicolaus having risen, and refuted the charges against the royal personages, retorted on the Jews, as a nation refractory under rule, and by nature disobedient to their sovereigns. He also lashed with severity such of Archelaus' relatives as had deserted to his accusers.

3. For the present, therefore, Cæsar, having heard both parties,

dissolved the council. A few days after, however, he gave one half of the kingdom to Archelaus, under the title of Ethnarch, promising farther to make him king, should he prove himself deserving. The other half he divided into two tetrarchies, which he conferred on two other of Herod's sons, Philip and Antipas; the latter of whom had disputed the throne with Archelaus. Under him were placed Peræa and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents. Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and certain portions of Zeno's domain, in the vicinity of Jamnia, producing a revenue of a hundred talents, were subjected to Philip: while, to the ethnarchate of Archelaus, were assigned Idumæa, and Judæa entire, together with Samaria, one quarter of the taxes of which was remitted in consideration of its having taken no part in the general revolt.

Archelaus received also under his authority the cities of Strato's Tower, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem. The Grecian towns, Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos, Cæsar severed from the kingdom, and annexed to Syria. The revenues of the district bestowed on Archelaus amounted to four hundred talents. Salome, besides what the king had left her by will, was declared mistress of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaëlis; Cæsar granting her, likewise, the palace in Ascalon. The revenue accruing from these was sixty talents. Her domain was reckoned in the jurisdiction of Archelaus. The other members of Herod's family received their several proportions according to the tenour of the will. To his two unmarried daughters, Cæsar, in addition, presented five hundred thousand pieces of silver, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras. After having thus distributed the patrimonial property, he divided among them a thousand talents, bequeathed to him by Herod; selecting for himself some trifling articles in honour of the deceased.

CHAPTER VII.

1. IN the meantime, a young man by birth a Jew, but brought up in Sidon with one of the Roman freed-men, relying on personal resemblance, feigned himself that Alexander who had been put to death by Herod; and in the hope of escaping detection repaired to Rome. He was attended by an accomplice of his own nation, acquainted with every thing in the kingdom, by whose instructions he

stated, that those who had been sent to destroy him and Aristobulus, had, through compassion, stolen them away, substituting in their stead, bodies resembling theirs. Having by these representations imposed on the Jews in Crete, and being splendidly provided for his journey, he sailed to Melos; where, from the extreme probability of his story, he not only collected a much larger sum, but prevailed on his hosts to embark with him for Rome. Landing at Dicæarchia, he received very costly presents from the Jews there; and was conducted on his way with royal honours by the friends of his supposed father. The similarity of form induced so much credit, that those who had seen, and intimately known, Alexander, would have sworn that this was he. Accordingly, the whole Jewish body in Rome poured forth for a sight of him, and an innumerable concourse besieged the streets through which he was borne: for so crazed were the Melians that they carried him in a litter, and provided royal attendance at their own expense.

2. Cæsar, however, who perfectly recollected Alexander's features, as he had been accused by Herod at his tribunal, though guessing that all was a cheat, grounded on fortuitous resemblance, even before he beheld the man, yielding in some measure to the more pleasing hope, directed Celadus, who had been familiarly acquainted with Alexander, to conduct the youth to his presence. Celadus, on seeing him, at once detected the distinctive marks of the countenance, and then observing that his whole frame was harsher and menial-like, perceived the entire contrivance. The effrontery of his statements, however, not a little roused his choler. For, being interrogated concerning Aristobulus, he said that he also had been preserved, but had been purposely left in Cyprus to protect him from treachery, as they would be less exposed to attempts, when separated. On this Celadus, taking him aside, told him that Cæsar would spare his life if he would discover who had instigated him to fabricate such tales. Professing his willingness, he followed him to Cæsar, and pointed out the Jew who had perverted his resemblance to the prince into a means of gain. For he had received more presents in the various towns, than Alexander had when alive. Laughing at the whole affair, Cæsar gave the pseudo Alexander, seeing that his bodily strength fitted him for the employment, a place among the rowers of his fleet: the contriver of the scheme, he ordered to execution. As to the Melians—the expenses were a sufficient mulct for their folly.

3. Archelaus, on taking possession of the ethnarchate, mindful of former feuds, treated not only the Jews, but the Samaritans also, with so much cruelty, that both parties accused him by their deputies before Cæsar; and in the ninth year of his administration, he was banished

to Vienne, a town in Gaul, and his property confiscated to the imperial treasury. It is said that, previous to his being summoned by Cæsar, he had a dream to this purport :—he thought he saw nine ears of corn, full and large, devoured by oxen ; and having sent for the diviners, and certain of the Chaldæans, he inquired what they considered it to portend. After different opinions had been expressed, one Simon, an Essæan by birth, remarked ; that, in his view the ears of corn denoted years, and the oxen, the mutations of things ; inasmuch as by ploughing the land, they changed it. Thus, he would reign as many years as there were ears of corn, and would eventually be involved in various vicissitudes. Five days after this intimation, Archelaus was summoned to stand his trial.

4. I have deemed deserving of record, likewise, a dream of his wife Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and had been first married to Alexander, brother of Archelaus, of whom we have been speaking, and son of king Herod, by whom, also, he was put to death, as we have above related. After his decease, she was united to Juba, king of Libya, on whose demise she returned home, and lived in widowhood with her father. Here Archelaus, the ethnarch, saw her, and became so deeply enamoured, that, divorcing his consort Mariamne, he immediately espoused her. On revisiting Judæa, and not long after her arrival, she thought Alexander stood beside her, and said : “ Your marriage in Libya might have sufficed you : but not content with this, you have returned to my dwelling, and, shameless woman ! chosen a third husband, and that, my brother. But I will not overlook this injury, and will take you from him, unwilling though you be.” The narration of this dream she scarcely survived two days.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. ARCHELAUS' territory having been reduced to a province, Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was sent thither as Procurator, invested by Cæsar with authority to inflict capital punishment. During his administration, a certain Galilæan named Judas excited the inhabitants to a revolt, denouncing them as dastards should they tolerate the payment of tribute to the Romans, and, after having God as their lord, bow to mortals as their masters. This was the leader of a sect founded by himself, and totally different from the rest.

2. There are among the Jews three forms of philosophy. The followers of the first are called Pharisees, of the second Sadducees, and of the third, which is reputed to cultivate peculiar sanctity, Essenes, who, Jews by birth, love each other more than do the other sects. All pleasures, as if an evil, they reject; but continence, and the control of the passions, they deem an especial virtue. Marriage is held in disdain among them; but, receiving the children of others, while yet pliant to instruction, they regard them as kindred, and mould them after their own principles. Wedlock, indeed, and the succession arising from it, they do not on principle condemn; but guard against the levity of women, persuaded of the disloyalty of the sex.

3. Riches they despise; and worthy of admiration is the community of goods among them. Nor can you find any one of them distinguished by greater opulence than another. For, it is a law with them, that those who enter into the sect make their property common to the order; so that in none appears either the abjectness of poverty, or the excess of wealth; but there being a mutual intermixture of possessions, all as brothers enjoy one patrimony. They consider oil defiling; and should any one accidentally come into contact with it, he wipes his body; for a squalid skin they think to be good—careful always to be habited in white. Stewards are appointed to superintend the affairs of the community; and these are chosen by the general body, nor are they distracted by individual cares.

4. They have no peculiar city; many residing in every town: and to those of the sect coming from other parts the property of the brethren is open, as if their own; and they enter the houses of those whom they have never before seen, as though united to them in the closest intimacy. Wherefore, on a journey, they carry nothing whatever with them but their arms, and those as a protection against robbers. Accordingly, in every town of the order, one is appointed to attend to strangers, and to provide them with raiment, and other necessities. In their dress, and general air, they resemble boys brought up under a system of terror. They change neither garments nor shoes, until they are torn in shreds, or worn out by age. They neither buy, nor sell among themselves; but each gives such things as he may possess to those in need of them, taking from them in turn what he may need; and, even without reference to any return, they have unimpeded licence mutually to take what they wish.

5. Towards the Deity they are singularly pious; for, before the sun is up, they utter nothing regarding worldly affairs, but turning their faces toward him, utter certain prayers handed down from their fathers, as if imploring him to rise. They are then dismissed by the

superintendents to the trades they are severally acquainted with ; and are assiduously occupied until the fifth hour, when they again assemble in one place, and, girding themselves with linen cloths, thus prepared they wash their bodies with cold water. After this cleansing, they collect in a private apartment which none of the uninitiated is allowed to enter ; and, now purified, they proceed to the refectory, as to some holy shrine. When they have taken their seats in silence, the baker serves them in rotation with loaves, while the cook sets down to each a single vessel of one kind of food. Previous to the repast the priest prays ; and it is unlawful for any one to taste aught before the prayer. Dinner being ended, he prays again ; and thus, beginning and concluding, they do homage to God, as the provider of their sustenance. Then laying aside their garments, as sacred, they resume their labours until evening. On their return they sup in a similar manner ; the strangers, who may happen to be present, sitting down with them. No clamour or disturbance ever contaminates their dwelling, each being granted liberty to speak in turn. To those without, the silence of the inmates seems like some awful mystery ; but the cause of this is undeviating temperance, and the making the demands of nature the measure of food and drink.

6. In other matters, indeed, they do nothing without the directions of the superior : two things alone being left optional with them, beneficence and compassion. For they are permitted of their own mere motion to succour the deserving, when in need, and to afford nutriment to those in want. But presents to their relations they are not allowed to make, without leave from the superintendent. Just in the direction of their resentment, they restrain the passion of anger : they take the lead in fidelity ; and are the very servants of peace. A simple affirmation is among them more valid than an oath ; and swearing they shun, looking upon it as worse than perjury ; for they pronounce him to be already condemned, without an appeal to God, who cannot be believed. They study with singular attention the writings of the ancients, extracting chiefly what tends to the welfare of soul and body. Hence they become acquainted with sanative roots, and the properties of minerals, useful in the treatment of disease.

7. The individual, anxious to join their sect, is not immediately admitted ; but they impose upon him the same rule of life for a year, he remaining meantime excluded from the fraternity. They present him with a small hatchet, the forementioned vestment, and a white dress. Having given proof of continence for that period, he advances a step nearer to their discipline, and is allowed to share in the waters of cleansing of a purer kind, but is not as yet received to their commu-

nion. For, after this proof of patience, his principles are tested for two years more, when, if found deserving, he is admitted into the Fraternity.

But before he touches the common food, he is bound by fearful oaths, first to cultivate piety towards God, then to observe justice towards men: to hurt no one unjustly, either at the suggestion of his own mind, or by command laid upon him: ever to hate the wicked, and to take part with the good: uniformly to exhibit good faith to all, especially to those in power, as, without the divine appointment, no one may possess authority; and should he himself bear rule, never to abuse his office, nor in apparel, or any further ornament, to outshine those subject to him: always to love truth, and aim at convicting such as are guilty of falsehood: to keep his hands pure from theft, and his soul from unholy gain; and neither to hide anything from the brotherhood, nor reveal to others any of their secrets, though urged even to death. He moreover swears to deliver their tenets no otherwise than as he himself received them: to abstain from robbery; and to preserve alike the books of the sect, and the names of the angels. By such oaths do they secure their proselytes.

8. Those detected in notable crimes they expel from the order; and the individual ejected frequently comes to a most miserable end; for, being bound by their oaths and usages, he is unable to partake of food from others; but, eating herbs, his body is wasted by hunger, and he perishes. Therefore, from compassion, they re-admit many when in the last extremity; deeming sufficient for their misdeeds those torments which had brought them within the jaws of death.

9. In their decisions they are just, and extremely accurate; never passing sentence in a court of less than a hundred members. But what is thus determined is irreversible. The object of their highest veneration, next to God, is the name of their lawgiver, whom if any blaspheme, he is punished with death. To obey their elders, and the majority, they consider becoming; so that should ten be sitting together, one would not speak, if the nine desire silence. They are cautious of spitting into the midst of their company, or on the right side; and in abstaining from labour on the seventh day they are of all Jews the most strict: for not only do they prepare their food the day before, that they may not on that light a fire, but they do not venture even to remove any vessel, or obey the chief calls of nature. On the other days, they dig a small pit a foot deep with the *skalis*—a species of hatchet given to them on their first admission, and cover themselves around with a cloak, that they may not offend the radiance of the Deity. They then replace the earth

they had removed. On these occasions, they are careful to select the more retired spots. And though this is a natural discharge of bodily impurity, they make it a rule to wash, as if defiled.

10. They are divided, according to the period of discipline, into four grades; and so far are those of junior standing inferior to the seniors, that, should the latter be touched by the former, they wash themselves, as if they had come into contact with an alien. They are long-lived, moreover; many attaining to upwards of an hundred years, in consequence of the simplicity of their mode of life, as I conceive, and their regular habits. They look with contempt on misfortune, and from a noble feeling rise superior to pain; thinking dissolution, if it come with honour, better than immunity from death. And, indeed, their strength of mind under all circumstances, our war with the Romans thoroughly exhibited. For, though at that period racked and distorted, burnt and broken, and tried by every instrument of torture, to make them blaspheme their lawgiver, or eat forbidden food, they endured any torment rather than yield in either instance. No, nor did they ever cringe to their tormentors, or shed a tear; but, smiling in their agonies, and deriding the efforts of their persecutors, they cheerfully resigned their souls, assured of receiving them again.

11. For the opinion obtains among them, that bodies indeed are corruptible, and the matter of them not permanent; but that souls continue exempt from death for ever: and that, emanating from the most subtle ether, they are enfolded in bodies, as prisons, to which they are drawn by some natural spell. But when loosed from the bonds of the flesh, as if released from a long captivity, they rejoice, and are borne upward. In this opinion harmonizing with the sons of Greece, they maintain that virtuous souls have their habitation beyond the ocean, in a region oppressed neither with rains, nor snows, nor heats; but which the ever-gentle zephyr refreshes, breathing from the wave: while to the bad they allot a gloomy and tempestuous cavern, full of never-ending punishments.

According to the same notion the Greeks seem to me to apportion to the brave, whom they style heroes and demigods, the islands of the blessed; but to the souls of the wicked, the place of the impious in Hades, where their legends tell that certain persons are punished, as Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and Ixion, and Tityus; laying it down first that souls are immortal, and deriving from thence their exhortations to virtue, and their dissuaves from vice. For the good become better in this life by the hope of a reward even after death, and the impetuous passions of the evil are restrained by the fear

that, though they may escape detection while alive, they will, after dissolution, undergo a deathless punishment. Such are the theological views of the Essenes concerning the soul; an irresistible attraction to those who have once tasted their philosophy.

12. There are among them those who profess to foretell future events, having from childhood been versed in sacred books, purifications of a higher class, and apophthegms of prophets. And they seldom, if ever, err in their predictions.

13. There is yet another order of Essenes, who, while they agree with the others as to their mode of life, customs, and regulations, differ from them in their sentiments respecting marriage. For they think that abstinence from wedlock cuts off the chiefest privilege of life, that of transmitting it; and, still more, that, were all to adopt the same view, the whole race would very quickly fail. Their wives, however, undergo a three years' probation; when, if they have been thrice purified, in proof of fecundity, their union is consummated. They do not, however, associate with them during the period of gestation, thus evincing that they marry from love of offspring, and not from any lower motive. In the bath the women wear a full covering, the men a girdle. Such are the usages of their order.

14. Of the two former sects, the Pharisees, who are reputed accurate expositors of the laws, and hence derive their fundamental dogma, ascribe everything to fate and God; but admit that to act rightly, or otherwise, rests for the most part with men, though in each case fate co-operates. Every soul they hold to be indestructible; but maintain that those of the good alone migrate into other bodies, while those of the bad suffer eternal punishment.

The Sadducees, who constitute the second order, set fate entirely aside, and place God beyond the commission, or observation of evil. They allege, that good and evil are in the election of men; and that every one may embrace either of these according to his own determination. The permanency of the soul, and the punishments and rewards of Hades, they reject. The Pharisees regard each other with affection, and cultivate public concord. The manners of the Sadducees towards each other are ferocious; and in their intercourse with their own fraternity, they are as wanting in urbanity as with aliens. Such are the remarks I had to make respecting the philosophical systems of the Jews.

CHAPTER IX.

1. AFTER the ethnarchy of Archelaus had been reduced to a province, Philip, and Herod called Antipas, remained in the administration of their respective tetrarchies. For Salome at her decease bequeathed to Julia, the consort of Augustus, her territory, with Jannia, and the plantation of palm trees in Phasaëlis. On the accession of Tiberius, the son of Julia, to the Roman empire, after the demise of Augustus, who reigned fifty-seven years, six months, and two days, Herod and Philip, being continued in their tetrarchies, severally built cities; the latter Cæsarea, near to the sources of the Jordan, in the district of Paneas, as also Julias, in the lower Gaulanitis; the former, Tiberias, in Galilee, and a town in Peræa, which bore the name of Julia.

2. Pilate, having been sent as procurator into Judæa by Tiberius, secretly and under cover of night introduced into Jerusalem those images of Cæsar which are called effigies. This proceeding, when the day broke, excited a dreadful tumult among the Jews: for those near them were struck with consternation at the sight, their laws, as it were, being trampled under foot; as they permit no image to be placed in the city. And in addition to the indignant crowds in the town, a vast concourse poured in from the country. Hastening to Pilate, who was then at Cæsarea, they besought him to remove the effigies from Jerusalem, and preserve their ancestral laws. Pilate rejecting their suit, they fell prostrate, and during five days, and as many nights, remained immoveable.

3. On the ensuing day Pilate, having seated himself upon a tribunal, in the great circus, and summoned the people, as with a view to return them an answer, gave a signal, as pre-concerted, to a body of troops under arms, to surround the Jews. The soldiers having accordingly encircled them three deep, the Jews were struck dumb at the unexpected sight. Pilate, declaring that he would cut them down, should they refuse to admit the effigies of Cæsar, nodded to the soldiers to draw their swords. The Jews, as if by concert falling prostrate in a mass, and offering their necks, cried out, that they would rather die than transgress their law. Pilate, astonished at the strength of their attachment to their religion, ordered the immediate removal of the effigies from Jerusalem.

4. He subsequently occasioned another tumult by expending the sacred treasure, called Corban, in the construction of an aqueduct.

He brought the water from a distance of 400 furlongs. Indignant at this profanation, the populace, on his return to Jerusalem, collected with loud clamours about his tribunal. Having foreseen the tumult, he interspersed among the crowd his troops armed, and disguised in plain clothes; forbidding them to use their swords, but directing them to chastise the rioters with staves. He then gave the preconcerted signal from the tribunal; on which they beat the Jews so severely that many perished from the blows, while numbers were trodden to death by their own party in the flight. Terrified at the fate of their friends, the multitude were silent.

5. In process of time Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, who fell by the command of Herod his father, accused Herod the tetrarch before Tiberius. The emperor gave no countenance to the charge. Agrippa, however, remained in Rome, paying court to other persons of distinction, chiefly, however, to Caius, son of Germanicus, who was as yet in private life. On one occasion Agrippa, having entertained Caius, and shown him various marks of respect, at length with uplifted hands openly prayed that he might, ere long, behold him master of the empire, when Tiberius should be no more. This was related by one of the servants to Tiberius, who, filled with indignation, threw Agrippa into prison; where he detained him for six months in confinement, treating him with great severity, until he was himself removed by death, after a reign of twenty-two years, six months, and three days.

6. Caius, on being proclaimed Cæsar, released Agrippa from imprisonment, and appointed him king of the tetrarchy vacant by the demise of Philip. Agrippa's arrival at the seat of his government excited the envious cupidity of Herod the tetrarch. He was led to cherish the hope of a sceptre, chiefly by his wife Herodias, who upbraided him with inactivity, alleging that he remained deprived of that higher honour, by his unwillingness to take a voyage to Rome. For, where Cæsar had made Agrippa, a private individual, king, much more would he advance him, a tetrarch, to the throne. Influenced by these arguments, Herod presented himself to Caius, who punished his greedy aspirations by banishment to Spain. For an accuser had followed him to Rome in the person of Agrippa, to whose territories Caius annexed his tetrarchy. Herod died in Spain, whither his wife had accompanied him.

CHAPTER X.

1. To such an excess did Caius Cæsar abuse the favours of fortune that he thought himself a god—willed to be called such—cut off from his country those of noblest blood—and extended his impiety even to the Jews. He accordingly despatched Petronius with an army to Jerusalem, to place his statues in the sanctuary, with orders, should the Jews refuse to admit them, to put all that opposed him to the sword, and enslave the rest of the nation.

God, however, was not regardless of these commands. Petronius marched from Antioch towards Judæa at the head of three legions, and a large body of Syrian auxiliaries. Among the Jews, meantime, one party could not credit the rumours of war; whilst another, that believed them, despaired of making any defence. But the terror quickly became universal, for the army was already at Ptolemais.

2. Ptolemais, a maritime town on the confines of Galilee, is situated in the Great Plain, and encompassed with mountains: that on the eastern side, at a distance of sixty furlongs, being part of Galilee. On the south it is girded by Carmel, at an interval of a hundred and twenty furlongs; and on the north, by the loftiest of these hills, called by the people of the country the "ladder of the Tyrians," and a hundred furlongs removed. Two furlongs from the town runs the little river Beleus, beside which stands Memnon's monument. Near to the latter is a spot a hundred cubits in extent, that claims our admiration. It is circular and concave, and yields vitreous sand. When emptied by the numerous ships that put in there, it is again filled, the winds drifting into it, as if by design, the waste sand outside, all of which is immediately converted by this mine into vitreous matter. And what seems to me still more surprising, is, that the vitreous particles, when thrown out of their bed, become once more common sand. Such is the peculiar nature of this place.

3. The Jews now assembled in crowds, with their wives and children, in the plain near Ptolemais, and supplicated Petronius, primarily, on behalf of their country's laws, and afterwards of themselves. Yielding to their numbers, as well as to their entreaties, he left his army and the statues in Ptolemais; and, proceeding into Galilee, and convening at Tiberias the mass of the people, with all those of distinction, he represented to them the power of the Romans, the menaces of Cæsar, and further, the unreasonableness of their request; for, when all the subject nations had, in every city, placed among their gods the effigies

of Cæsar, that they alone should oppose such a proceeding, was little less than rebellion, and that aggravated by insult.

4. They, on the other hand, alleged their law, and national usages; and that it was not permitted them to set up any representation of God, much less of man, not only in the Temple, but even in any ordinary place throughout the country. To this Petronius replied: "But is not the law of my master to be observed also by me? For, if I disobey him, and spare you, I shall perish justly. He who sent me, and not I, will levy war against you; for I myself, like you, am under his authority." On this, the multitude with one voice cried out, that "they were prepared to suffer, rather than that their law should be infringed."

Petronius, having allayed the clamour, rejoined—"Will you then war with Cæsar?" they answered—"For Cæsar, and the Roman people, twice a day do we sacrifice. But if he wishes to erect these effigies, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation; and we now present ourselves, with our children and wives, ready for slaughter." Astonishment and pity here seized the mind of Petronius at their exceeding sense of religion, and their unflinching readiness to die. He then dismissed them, leaving matters as they were.

5. During the following days, collecting the nobles in private, and publicly convening the people, he now entreated, now advised, but more frequently threatened, enlarging on the power of the Romans, and the wrathful temper of Caius, and the necessity under which he himself lay. As they yielded, however, to no effort of his, and as he saw the country in danger of remaining unsown—for it was seed-time, and the people had continued fifty days idle—he at length called them together and said: "Better were it that I should endanger myself: for I shall either, God aiding me, prevail with Cæsar, and thus gladly save myself and you, or, should he be exasperated, I shall, for the lives of so many, cheerfully surrender my own." He then dismissed the multitude, who invoked many blessings on him; and having withdrawn his army from Ptolemais, he returned to Antioch.

From thence he immediately wrote to Cæsar, acquainting him with his expedition into Judæa, and with the entreaties of the nation; adding, "that unless he was prepared to destroy both the country and its inhabitants, it behoved him to forego his orders, and allow them to observe their law." To this communication Caius returned an answer, couched in no very moderate terms, threatening Petronius with death, for being so tardy in executing his commands. It so happened, however, that those who carried these despatches were detained by tempestuous weather three months at sea, whilst others, announcing

the demise of Caius, had a favourable voyage. Petronius, accordingly, received the letters on that subject seven-and-twenty days prior to those against himself.

CHAPTER XI.

1. CAIUS having fallen by treachery after a reign of three years and eight months, Claudius was hurried to the throne by the troops then in Rome. The senate, however, on a motion of the consuls, Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus, having committed the protection of the city to the three cohorts that remained with them, assembled in the capitol; and, from a remembrance of the cruelty of Caius, they passed a decree to levy war against Claudius, and either to administer the government by an aristocracy, according to the ancient mode, or to elect by suffrage one worthy of the empire.

2. Agrippa, who happened to arrive in Rome at this juncture, was invited by the senate to a participation in their counsels, and by Claudius from the camp, to aid him as circumstances might require. Perceiving that Claudius was virtually Cæsar, to him Agrippa repaired; and was sent by him as an envoy to the senate to state his views, and that he had, in the first instance, been reluctantly hurried away by the soldiery; but that he considered it unjust to desert those who had manifested a regard for him, and unsafe to abandon his own fortunes:—inasmuch as even to have received a call to the empire was not without its dangers; and that he would, moreover, administer the government, not as a tyrant, but as a virtuous prince, satisfying himself with the honour of the appellation, and granting to all free permission to render advice on every measure of state. For, even though he were not naturally inclined to moderation, the fate of Caius was a sufficient warning to him to exercise his authority with sobriety.

3. To this message, delivered by Agrippa, the senate replied, “that, relying on their forces and the wisdom of their counsels, they would not undergo voluntary servitude.” Claudius, on receipt of this answer from the senate, again sent Agrippa to inform them, that he could not endure the thought of betraying men who had bound themselves by oath to his fortunes; while those, against whom he was reluctantly going to war, were the individuals with whom he least wished to quarrel. Some spot, however, outside the town, should be selected for the conflict; as it could not but be unholy, on

account of their perverse counsels, to pollute with native blood the sacred precincts of the city. With these instructions Agrippa returned to the senate.

4. In the midst of these negotiations one of the soldiers, who sided with the senate, drew his sword, and cried aloud: "Fellow-soldiers, what injury have we received to induce us to murder our brethren, and to attack our kinsmen who have followed Claudius, while we have an emperor to whom no fault can be objected, and are united by so many legitimate ties to those, against whom we are preparing to take the field?" Thus saying, he rushed through the midst of the senate, carrying with him all his comrades. The patricians on the instant were struck with dismay at this defection, and soon becoming sensible that they had no other safe resource, followed the steps of the soldiers, and hastened to present themselves to Claudius. Those who had paid earlier court to fortune, met them under the walls, sword in hand. And there was reason to apprehend, that the leaders of the party would have been endangered, before Claudius was aware of this meditated attack, had not Agrippa ran and informed him of the serious aspect of the affair: and that, unless he restrained the impetuosity of the troops, so infuriated were they against the patricians, he would be deprived of those who reflect a lustre on the throne, and be left the monarch of a desert.

5. Influenced by these representations, Claudius repressed the fury of the soldiery, and, having admitted the senate into the camp, addressed them in courteous terms, and went out with them immediately, to sacrifice thank-offerings to God for the empire. To Agrippa he forthwith presented the whole of his paternal dominions, annexing to them, besides those districts given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis, with the addition of another principality, styled the kingdom of Lysanias. This donation he signified to the people by an edict; and directed the magistrates to have the grant engraved on brazen tables, and deposited in the capitol. On his brother Herod—who was also his son-in-law by his marriage with Bernice—he bestowed the kingdom of Chalcis.

6. From territories so extensive wealth flowed in rapidly upon Agrippa, who, instead of expending it on things of small moment, proceeded to surround Jerusalem with a wall, so vast as, had it been completed, would have rendered ineffectual the efforts of the Romans in the siege. But, before it had reached the intended elevation, he expired in Cæsarea, three years after his accession to the throne, and six from his appointment to the tetrarchy. He left three daughters, Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla, the fruit of his union

with Cypros, by whom also he had a son, Agrippa. The latter being still under age, Claudius again reducing the kingdom to a province, sent down Cuspius Fadus as procurator, and afterwards Tiberius Alexander; who, introducing no change into the national usages, preserved the country in peace.

Subsequently to these events expired Herod, king of Chalcis, leaving by Bernice, his brother's daughter, two sons, Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus, and one, Aristobulus, by his first wife Mariamne. Another brother of his, Aristobulus, died in private life, survived by a daughter, Jotape. These, as I have before stated, were the children of Aristobulus, son of Herod. Aristobulus and Alexander, whom their father put to death, were borne to Herod by Mariamne. The posterity of Alexander reigned in Armenia Major.

CHAPTER XII.

1. AFTER the decease of Herod, king of Chalcis, Claudius raised to his uncle's throne Agrippa, son of Agrippa. Of the other province, Cumanus succeeded Alexander as procurator; and under him fresh disturbances broke out, and disasters again befel the Jews. The people having assembled in Jerusalem at the feast of unleavened bread, and the Roman cohort being at their post over the colonnade of the temple—for a body of men under arms constantly keep guard at the festivals, to check any insurrectionary movement among the congregated multitudes—one of the soldiers, drawing up his cloak, and stooping indecently, turned his seat to the Jews, addressing them in language corresponding to the gesture.

Fired with indignation at this insult, the people loudly called upon Cumanus to punish the soldier; while the less temperate of the youth, and those of the nation whose natural bent was sedition, proceeded to a conflict, and snatching up stones, threw them at the troops. Cumanus, apprehensive of a general attack from the people, sent for a reinforcement. The soldiers pouring in by the colonnades, the Jews were seized with irrepressible terror, and being driven from the Temple, made their escape into the city. Such however was the violence with which they pressed around the outlets, that upwards of ten thousand were trodden down by their own party, and crushed to death; and the festival was turned into mourning to the whole nation, and filled every house with woe.

2. This calamity was succeeded by a tumult caused by a band of freebooters, who, on the high road near Beth-horon, attacked and plundered of the baggage he was conveying, one Stephen, a servant of Cæsar. Cumanus in consequence directed a detachment to make the circuit of the neighbouring villages, and to bring in the inhabitants prisoners, on a charge of not having pursued and apprehended the robbers. On this occasion a soldier, having found in one of the villages the sacred law, tore the book in pieces, and threw it into the fire. The Jews, as if their whole country had been a blaze, were thrown into a ferment; and drawn together, mechanically as it were, by a zeal for religion, they hurried in a body at the first summons to Cumanus, then at Cæsarea, entreating him not to leave unpunished the individual who had thus insulted God, and his law. Cumanus, perceiving that nothing would pacify them but his compliance, ordered the soldier to be brought forth, and led to death through the midst of his accusers. The Jews then withdrew.

3. Soon after, a conflict took place between the Galilæans and Samaritans. At a village called Geman, situate in the great plain of Samaria, numbers of the Jews being then on their way up to the festival, a Galilæan was assassinated. On this, the people flocked in crowds from Galilee as if to levy war against the Samaritans. In the meantime, the men of distinction among them waited on Cumanus, and besought him, ere the evil became irreparable, to proceed to Galilee, and bring the perpetrators of the murder to punishment; as thus alone could a collision between the parties be prevented. Cumanus, however, regarding their entreaties as of inferior importance to the affairs which occupied his attention, dismissed the petitioners with their object unattained.

4. When the assassination was reported at Jerusalem, the populace were thrown into a state of confusion, and, deserting the festival, hurried to Samaria, without a general, and contrary to the advice of the magistrates, who sought to restrain them. The freebooters and insurgents who united with this body were under the conduct of Alexander, and of Eleazar, son of Dinæus; who, falling on the borderers of the Acrabatene territory, slaughtered them without distinction of age, and reduced their villages to ashes.

5. Cumanus, with a squadron called the Augustan cavalry, hastening from Cæsarea to the assistance of the sufferers, made prisoners of many of Eleazar's adherents, and put great numbers to the sword. The survivors of the party, which had rushed forth to attack the Samaritans, were met by the magistrates of Jerusalem, who, clothed in

sackcloth, and scattering ashes on their heads, ran out of the town, and implored them to return home, and not, in the effort to retaliate on the Samaritans, incense the Romans against Jerusalem; to pity their country and the Temple, their own children, and wives, and not endanger everything to avenge the death of a single Galilæan. Prevailed on by these remonstrances, the Jews dispersed.

Many, however, emboldened by impunity, betook themselves to robbery; and the whole country was filled with rapine; while the more daring broke out in insurrection. The Samaritan chiefs, waiting on Unmadius Quadratus, president of Syria, who was then at Tyre, demanded the punishment of those who had laid waste their country. Thither also repaired the Jews of distinction with the high priest Jonathan, son of Ananus, and accused the Samaritans of originating the disturbance by the perpetration of the murder; alleging also that Cumanus was responsible for all.

6. Quadratus for the present put both parties off; stating, that, when he visited those places, he would inquire into the particulars. He then proceeded to Cæsarea, where he crucified all whom Cumanus had made prisoners. From thence he advanced to the town of Lydda, and, having examined into the complaints of the Samaritans, ordered up eighteen Jews, who, as he was informed, had been concerned in the fray, and struck off their heads. Two others of the most influential, as also the chief priests Jonathan and Ananias, with Ananus, son of the latter, and some other Jews of distinction, he sent to Cæsar, and in like manner also the most eminent of the Samaritans. He moreover directed Cumanus, and Celer the tribune, to embark for Rome to render account of their conduct to Claudius. Having settled these disputes, he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and, finding the people celebrating the feast of unleavened bread without tumult, returned to Antioch.

7. At Rome, Cæsar, after having heard Cumanus and the Samaritans—Agrippa being present, and warmly espousing the cause of the Jews, while many of the nobles befriended Cumanus—condemned the Samaritans, and ordered to execution three of the most influential. Cumanus he exiled, and sent Celer in chains to Jerusalem, directing him to be delivered up to the Jews for torture, and, after having been drawn round the city, to be beheaded.

8. Subsequent to these transactions Cæsar appointed Felix, brother of Pallas, Procurator of Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and Peræa. Agrippa he transferred from Chalcis to a more extensive realm, presenting him also with the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip,

comprising Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis. To these he added the dominions of Lysanias, and the province of which Varus had been president. After administering the empire thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, Claudius expired, leaving, as his successor in the government, Nero, whom he had been prevailed on by the artifices of his consort Agrippina, to adopt as heir to the throne; though he had himself a son, Britannicus, by Messalina his first wife, besides a daughter, Octavia, whom he gave in marriage to Nero. He had also by Petina, another daughter, named Antonia.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. IN how many instances Nero, frenzied with excess of prosperity and wealth, abused the favours of fortune; in what manner he put his brother, wife, and mother to death; his subsequent cruelty to those of highest rank; and how, at length, he madly flung himself upon the stage, and into the theatre, I shall pass without notice, as acts of which the world has heard enough. I shall advert, however, to the events which befel the Jews during his reign.

2. The dominion of the lesser Armenia he conferred on Aristobulus, son of Herod; and to the territory of Agrippa annexed four cities, with their districts, Abila, Julias in Peræa, Tarichæa, and Tiberias in Galilee. Of the remainder of Judæa he appointed Felix Procurator; and by him Eleazar, the brigand chief, who for twenty years had ravaged the country, was, with many of his associates, taken prisoner, and sent to Rome. Of the banditti whom he crucified, and of those whom he brought to punishment, being detected in confederacy with them, the number was incalculable.

3. Scarcely had the country been cleared of these, when there sprang up in Jerusalem another description of robbers, called Sikars; who, under the broad light of day, and in the very heart of the city, assassinated men; chiefly at the festivals, however, when, mixing among the crowd, with daggers concealed under their cloaks, they stabbed those with whom they were at variance. When they fell, the murderers joined in the general expressions of indignation, and, by this plausible proceeding, remained undetected.

The first of their victims was Jonathan the high priest, after whom many were daily taken off; and the fear inspired was more distressing

than the calamity itself: every one, as on the field of battle, momentarily expecting death. Accordingly, men kept watch from a distance on their enemies: nor did they confide even in a friend when approaching. But in the midst of their suspicions and precautions they were carried off;—such was the celerity of the conspirators, and such their art in concealment.

4. But besides these, there rose up another herd of villains, with purer hands indeed, but with views more impious, who not less than these assassins disturbed the happiness of the city. For these impostors and deceivers, under the garb of inspiration aiming at innovation and change, persuaded the multitude to forego their reason, and led them into the desert, assuring them, that God would there give them tokens of freedom. Against these, Felix, suspecting that this was but a prelude to insurrection, sent out a detachment of horse and foot, and put great numbers to the sword.

5. Still more severely, however, did the Jews suffer from an Egyptian false prophet, who coming into the country, and being an artful character, and arrogating the authority of a prophet, collected about thirty thousand dupes. These he led round from the desert to the Mount of Olives, so called, whence he proposed to force an entrance into Jerusalem: and, after mastering the Roman garrison, and the people, to lord it with the aid of his spearmen, who were to pour in along with him. His attempt, however, was anticipated by Felix; who intercepted him with the Roman forces, the whole body of the population, also, combining for defence; so that in the conflict that ensued, though the Egyptian escaped with a few of his followers, the greater part of his adherents were either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners. The remainder dispersed, each to his own home, seeking safety in concealment.

6. No sooner had these disorders been suppressed, than, as in a diseased frame, another member became inflamed. Several impostors and brigands, banding together, drew many into revolt, encouraging them to assert their liberty, and threatening death to such as maintained obedience to the Roman authority; declaring that those who now willingly chose servitude should by force be torn from it. Distributing themselves in companies through the country, they plundered the houses of the nobles, murdered the proprietors, and set fire to the villages; so that Judæa was filled from end to end with their madness; and this warfare became daily more malignant.

7. Another disturbance now took place at Cæsarea: the Jews who resided there having risen upon the Syrians; for they claimed the city as their's, alleging that its founder, king Herod, was a Jew.

That its builder was a Jew the Syrians did not deny; but they asserted, withal, that it was a Grecian city, inasmuch as, had he intended it for Jews, he would not have erected statues and temples in it. Such were the points controverted by the respective parties, until the dispute terminated in an appeal to arms. The bolder spirits on either side daily rushed to battle; the more aged of the Jews being unable to restrain their disorderly brethren, and the Greeks deeming it dishonourable to be defeated by Jews. The latter had the advantage in wealth and physical strength; the Greeks in the co-operation of the military. For the Roman levies in that quarter had been raised chiefly in Syria, and, as their kindred, they were prepared to support their cause.

The magistrates, however, were careful to repress these tumults; and always seizing the more pugnacious on either side, they punished them with the scourge and imprisonment. These inflictions were, notwithstanding, ineffectual in restraining the combatants, or inspiring alarm; and acted rather as a stimulus to sedition. The Jews having been victors on one occasion, Felix, repairing to the market-place, with threats commanded them to retire; but as they refused to comply, he ordered his troops in upon them, when many were killed, and their property, as it happened, plundered. The quarrel however still continuing, he selected from either party those of distinction, and sent them as a deputation to Nero, to argue their respective rights.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. FESTUS, having succeeded Felix in the office of Procurator, directed his efforts against the chief plague of the country, and having apprehended great numbers of the brigands, ordered not a few to execution. But Albinus, his successor, did not administer the government in the same manner; nor was there any species of enormity which he did not commit. Accordingly, not only in his official capacity did he purloin and pillage the property of individuals; not only did he burthen the whole nation with imposts; but such as had been thrown into prison for robbery, either by their respective magistrates, or by former procurators, he allowed their relatives to ransom; and he alone, who would give nothing, was left incarcerated as a malefactor.

At this period the audacity of the malcontents in Jerusalem received a new impetus, their leaders having, by means of money, obtained license from Albinus to proceed with impunity in their seditious practices. That portion of the populace whose element was disturbance, united with those who were in correspondence with Albinus; and these ruffians, severally surrounded by their own bands, figured among them as brigand chiefs, or tyrants, employing their satellites for the plunder of the peaceably disposed. Hence it occurred, that those who were deprived of their property were silent, too much reason though they had to complain; while those as yet exempted from violence, through fear of similar ill-treatment, cringed to him who merited punishment. In a word, none ventured to speak their mind, beset as they were on every side by tyrants; and the seeds of future capture were, from that date, sown in the city.

2. But, though such was Albinus, the conduct of Gessius Florus, his successor, exhibited him, in comparison, a man of the highest probity. Albinus was for the most part private in his villanies, and perpetrated them with dissimulation: Gessius, on the contrary, made an ostentatious display of his outrages against the nation. And, as if a public executioner commissioned to carry the law into effect against criminals condemned already, he committed every species of rapine and severity. In a case which called for compassion, he was cruel in the extreme: while in matters of turpitude he was devoid of shame. In smothering the truth none was more successful; nor in devising artifices of deception were any more ingenious. To make gain of a single individual he deemed a trifle: he despoiled whole cities, ruined populous communities, and did all but proclaim throughout the country, that every one was at liberty to rob, provided he might share in the plunder. Through his avarice, accordingly, it occurred, that entire districts were reduced to desolation, while many, abandoning the haunts of their fathers, sought refuge in foreign climes.

3. So long as Cestius Gallus administered the province of Syria, no one dared to send a deputation to him with complaints against Florus; but on his visiting Jerusalem at the approach of the feast of unleavened bread, the people collected about him to the number of three millions, imploring him to pity the calamities of the nation, and loudly denouncing Florus as the bane of the country. Florus, meanwhile, who was present, and standing beside Cestius, laughed the outcry to scorn. Cestius, having calmed the excitement of the populace, and pledged himself to take care that Florus should act with greater moderation in future, returned to Antioch.

He was escorted as far as Cæsarea by Florus, who practised on his

credulity, and, fired with rage, was laying his plans for involving the nation in war:—the sole hope he had of concealing his atrocities. For, should peace continue, he expected the Jews to accuse him before Cæsar; but, could he bring about a revolt, the greater calamity would, he trusted, divert their attention from the less. In order, therefore, that he might drive the nation into rebellion, he daily aggravated their sufferings.

4. The Greeks of Cæsarea, having about this time succeeded in obtaining from Nero the government of the city, arrived with documents to that effect:—an event from which we may date the commencement of the war; which thus began in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and in the seventeenth of Agrippa, in the month Artemisius:—a war, the grounds of which were so little proportioned to the magnitude of its consequences.

The Jews in Cæsarea had a synagogue near to a spot, the owner of which was a Cæsarean Greek; and this the Jews had frequently endeavoured to purchase, having offered for it a price far exceeding its value. Not only, however, did he disregard these tenders, but he, further, by way of insult, occupied the ground with other buildings, which he converted into workshops; leaving the Jews a narrow and extremely inconvenient approach. Irritated at this, the more hot-blooded of the youth rushed forth, and interrupted the builders. But, as Florus prohibited violence, the more influential Jews, among whom was John the publican, at a loss what measures to adopt, endeavoured to prevail on Florus by a bribe of eight talents of silver to stop the work. Intent on nothing but securing the money, he promised to co-operate in every thing; but no sooner had he received it, than he set out from Cæsarea for Sebaste, leaving the sedition to take its course; as if he had sold the Jews impunity to fight.

5. On the day following, being the seventh, the Jews having assembled in the synagogue, a turbulent Cæsarean having placed an earthen vessel inverted at the entrance, sacrificed birds upon it. To see their laws turned into ridicule, and the spot defiled, exasperated the Jews beyond control. The more sober-minded and moderate, however, thought it prudent again to refer the matter to their governors; but the seditious spirits, and those in the fervour of youth, burned for battle. They of like temperament among the Cæsareans stood prepared; for, drawn up in military order, they had escorted the sacrificer:—and the parties soon came into collision. Jucundus, master of horse, who had been appointed to prevent tumults, repairing to the spot, removed the earthen vessel, and endeavoured to quell the riot: but the violence of the Cæsareans rendering his efforts

ineffectual, the Jews snatched up the book of the law, and retired to Nabata, a district, so called, belonging to them, sixty furlongs distant from Cæsarea. John, attended by twelve of his most influential associates, now waited on Florus at Sebaste, and complained bitterly of what had occurred; imploring his aid, and delicately reminding him of the eight talents. He seized the men, however, and threw them into chains, charging them, as a crime, with the removal of the books of the law from Cæsarea.

6. Indignant as were the inhabitants of Jerusalem at this, they yet restrained their feelings; while Florus, as if he had hired himself out for this special object, fanned the flame of war; and sending to the temple-treasury, withdrew seventeen talents, under pretence of Cæsar's service. Thrown into instant ferment by this outrage, the people rushed in a body to the Temple, and with the loudest outcries invoked the name of Cæsar; imploring him to rescue them from the tyranny of Florus, against whom a party of the rioters railed in the most opprobrious terms, and, carrying round a basket, begged a trifle for him, as one pennyless, and miserable.

These proceedings, however, instead of making him blush at his passion for money, only quickened his ardour in its acquisition. Accordingly, when he ought to have repaired to Cæsarea, and extinguish the flame of war, already commenced there, and thus remove all occasion of disturbance—a service for which he had received his hire, he made a rapid march on Jerusalem with a force of cavalry and infantry, to effect his object by the Roman arms, and, employing intimidation and menaces, pillage the city.

7. The people, anxious to shame him from his purpose, met the troops with acclamations, and prepared to receive him with obsequious attentions. He, meantime, sent forward Capito, a centurion, with fifty horse, ordering them to return, and not to mock with a pretence of courtesy one whom they had so grossly reviled. For it became them, if they were brave men, and had the courage to speak their minds, to reproach him to his face, and approve their love of liberty, not only in words but in arms. Terrified at this message, the multitude, on Capito's detachment dashing in among them, dispersed before they had saluted Florus, or given the soldiers proof of obedience. Retiring to their houses, they spent the night in alarm and dejection.

8. Florus, for the present, fixed his quarters in the palace, but on the following day, having erected a tribunal in front of it, he took his seat, when the high-priests, and men of power, with all those of distinction in the city, came forth, and stood before him. Florus

commanded them to deliver up those who had insulted him, declaring that they should themselves feel his vengeance, if they did not produce the guilty. In reply, they represented to him the peaceable disposition of the people, and asked pardon for such as had spoken unbecomingly. For, in so great a crowd it could not excite surprise that there should be some hot-headed and indiscreet through youth: so that it would be impossible to distinguish the delinquents, where every one expressed regret, and, from fear of the consequences, denied all participation in what had occurred. It behoved him, however, to provide for the peace of the nation, and take measures to preserve the city for the Romans; and, for the sake of the many innocent, to forgive the few who had erred, rather than, for the offence of one or two evil-minded, to harass a multitude of good men.

9. Florus, but the more incensed by these expostulations, called aloud to the troops to plunder the upper market, as it was called, and to kill all they met with. The soldiers, accordingly, their love of gain stimulated by the commands of their general, not only sacked the place against which they were despatched, but broke into every house, and massacred the inmates. Fugitives crowded the streets: all seized were slaughtered; and every species of rapine was committed. Many of the moderate party were apprehended, and brought before Florus, who first scourged, and then crucified them. Thus the entire number destroyed on that day, including women and children, for even infancy was not spared, amounted to about three thousand six hundred. This calamity was rendered the more grievous by the novel cruelty of the Romans. For, what no one had ever before attempted, Florus then ventured on—namely, to scourge and nail to a cross, in front of the tribunal, men of equestrian rank, who, though of Jewish extraction, enjoyed that Roman dignity.

CHAPTER XV.

1. KING AGRIPPA was at this period on his way to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander, to whom Egypt had been confided by Nero, and who had been recently sent to administer the government. His sister Bernice, who was then in Jerusalem, and a witness of the outrages of the military, was deeply affected, and frequently despatched the masters of her horse, and her life-guards, to Florus, imploring

him to put a stop to the slaughter. This prayer he rejected; regarding neither the multitude of the slain, nor the rank of the suppliant, but only the profit he expected from the plunder. The rage of the soldiery vented itself even against the queen. For, not only did they scourge their prisoners, and put them to death before her eyes; but they would have destroyed herself also, had she not made a timely retreat to the palace, where she passed the night with a guard, dreading an attack from the military.

Bernice was sojourning in Jerusalem for the fulfilment of a vow to God: it being customary for those visited with sickness, or otherwise afflicted, to set apart for prayer thirty days previous to that on which they intend to offer sacrifice, abstaining from wine, and cutting off their hair. While discharging these obligations, Bernice, barefoot before the tribunal, presented her petition to Florus; and was not only treated disrespectfully, but narrowly escaped with life.

2. These occurrences took place on the sixteenth of the month Artemisius: and, on the day following, the multitude, in a state of frenzy, crowded to the upper market-place, and with piercing cries bewailed those who had perished: their language for the most part consisting of invectives against Florus. Alarmed at this, the leading men and the chief priests rent their garments, and, falling prostrate before them severally, implored them to desist, and not, after all they had suffered, provoke Florus to implacable severity. The multitude at once complied, as well from reverence for those who addressed them, as in the hope of sustaining no further injury from Florus.

3. Chagrined at the cessation of the disturbance, and labouring to renew it, Florus summoned the chief priests and others of distinction, and stated, that the only proof he would accept, that the people would for the future abstain from all insurrectionary movements, was, that they should go out, and meet the soldiers who were coming up from Cæsarea;—two cohorts being then on their march from that place. But, while they were convening the multitude, he sent instructions to the centurions, to direct their men not to return the salute of the Jews; and, if they should utter anything to his disadvantage, to use their arms. The chief priests, having assembled the people in the Temple, exhorted them to go forth and meet the Romans, and, ere their misfortunes should be past remedy, to receive the cohorts courteously. To these solicitations the insurgents turned a deaf ear;—and the populace, in remembrance of their fallen companions, leaned to the bolder party.

4. Then it was that every priest, and every minister of God,

bringing forth the sacred vessels, and wearing the dress in which they were wont to execute their office, the harpers also, and the singers with their musical instruments, fell prostrate, and besought the multitude to preserve the sacred decorations for them, and not provoke the Romans to pillage the divine treasures. The high priests themselves might then be seen, with dust sprinkled upon their heads, and with breasts exposed through their rent garments, supplicating the most influential by name, and the people in a body, not to deliver up their country to those who desired to lay it waste, by disobedience in so trifling a matter. "What advantage," they asked, "would a salute from the Jews be to the Romans? what reparation of past misfortunes to themselves their not going out to meet them? If they received them as usual, Florus would be deprived of all grounds for hostilities, while they would gain their country, and be preserved from further suffering. Besides that, to be swayed by a handful of malcontents, when they, so large a majority, ought even to coerce them to submission, would be extreme weakness."

5. With these expostulations they soothed the multitude; while the rioters were restrained, partly by menaces, and partly by shame. They then led them forth in peaceable array to meet the troops; and as the cohorts approached, they saluted them: but no response being made, the rioters loudly inveighed against Florus. This was the preconcerted signal for attack. The soldiers, accordingly, instantly surrounding them, beat them with their clubs, while the cavalry pursued, and trampled down, those that fled. Many fell under the blows of the Romans, but more by the pressure of their own party. Dreadful was the crush about the gates; and each one hastening to be first, the flight of all was retarded. Melancholy was the fate of those thrown down; for, suffocated, and disfigured by the crowds that trod upon them, there was not one that could be recognised by his kindred for interment.—The soldiers, moreover, rushed in with them, and beating without mercy all whom they caught, drove the multitude through the Bezetha, as it is called, straining every nerve to outstrip them, and take possession of the Temple, and the Antonia.

Anxious to make himself master of these, Florus led out the troops from the royal residence, and used all his efforts to approach the fortress, but was foiled in the attempt. The people turning round and facing him, checked his advance; and posting themselves on the roofs, assailed the Romans with missiles. Galled by this attack from above, and too weak to cut through the crowds that blocked up the streets, the troops retired to the encampment at the palace.

6. The insurgents, fearing lest Florus should return, and pushing

forward through the Antonia, possess himself of the Temple, instantly mounted the colonnades which connected the two buildings, and cut off the communication. This cooled the cupidity of Florus. Panting after the sacred treasures, and in consequence eager to advance into the Antonia, once that the colonnades were broken down, he suspended his attack, and sending for the chief priests and the sanhedrim, stated that he would evacuate the city; but would leave them such a garrison as they should wish. On their promising everything that could tend to the public safety, and that no innovation should be attempted, should he leave them one cohort—not that which had been engaged, as against it the people felt incensed, from having suffered so severely—he, as they requested, changed the cohort, and with the remainder of his army returned to Cæsarea.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. FLORUS, with the view of furnishing fresh matter for hostilities, addressed a letter to Cestius, falsely accusing the Jews of revolt; alleging that they had been the aggressors, and charging them with the very excesses from which they had themselves been the sufferers. The magistrates of Jerusalem, however, did not remain silent; but wrote to Cestius, as did also Bernice, on the subject of the outrages committed by Florus against the city. On perusing their respective letters, Cestius consulted with his officers. They were of opinion that he should advance with his army, either to chastise the malcontents, should an insurrection have taken place; or to confirm the Jews in their allegiance, should they have maintained it.

- His own view, however, was, to send forward one of his friends to examine into affairs, and faithfully report to him the sentiments of the Jews. He, accordingly, despatched Neapolitanus, a tribune, who at Jamnia met King Agrippa, then on his return from Alexandria; and informed him by whom he had been sent, and for what purpose.

2. Here, also, had the chief priests of the Jews, with the leading men, and the sanhedrim, arrived to congratulate the king. After paying their respects to him, they deplored their calamities, and detailed the cruelties of Florus. Agrippa, though his indignation was roused, adroitly transferred his resentment to the Jews, whom at

heart he pitied; wishing to lower their tone, and by appearing to disbelieve that they had suffered unjustly, to divert them from revenge. Being of the higher class, and on account of their possessions desirous of peace, they were sensible that the king's reproof was dictated by kindness.

From Jerusalem the people proceeded to the distance of sixty furlongs, to receive Agrippa and Neapolitanus. The wives of the slain, however, ran before them shrieking; and, moved by their wail, the people began to join in their lamentations, and entreated Agrippa to succour them. They further loudly enumerated to Neapolitanus the many miseries they had endured under Florus; and, on their entering the city, they showed the market-place desolated, and the houses in ruins. They then, through Agrippa, prevailed on Neapolitanus to walk round the city, as far as Siloam, with a single attendant, that he might assure himself that the Jews were obedient to the Romans—Florus alone excepted, whom they abhorred on account of his excessive cruelty to them. Having traversed the city, and sufficiently ascertained their pacific disposition, he went up to the Temple. Here, having called the people together, and warmly commended their fidelity to the Romans, he earnestly exhorted them to maintain peace; and having, as far as was permitted, participated in the temple-worship, he returned to Cestius.

3. The populace, addressing the king and the chief priests, requested that ambassadors might be sent to Nero with an accusation against Florus; lest, on an occasion of so much bloodshed, they should leave themselves under suspicion of insurrection by their silence; as it might be supposed that they had commenced hostilities, should they not take timely measures to point out the real aggressor. And it was evident that they would not remain quiet, should any impediment be thrown in the way of the embassy. Agrippa, though he deemed it invidious to send up an accusation against Florus, yet thought it not his interest to overlook the strong bias for war manifested by the Jews. He, accordingly, convened the people in the Xystus; and, having placed his sister Bernice in a conspicuous situation on the house of the Asamonean family—which was above the Xystus, on the opposite side of the upper town, where a bridge connected the Temple with the Xystus—he spoke as follows:—

4. “Had I seen that you all were bent on war with the Romans, and not that the more upright and unprejudiced portion of the community were desirous of preserving peace, I would neither have appeared before you, nor ventured to advise. For, superfluous is every address bearing on measures proper to be pursued, when all

who hear it are by common consent resolved on the less prudent course. But, since youth, inexperienced in the evils of war, stimulates some—some an inconsiderate hope of freedom—others avarice, and, in the general confusion, a desire of private aggrandizement at the expense of the weak, I have thought it my duty to call you together, and lay before you what I conceive will most conduce to your welfare :—that these several classes, being better instructed, may alter their views, and that the virtuous may sustain no damage from the pernicious counsels of a few. And let no one interrupt me, albeit I should touch on some unpleasing topics. For those who are incurably bent on revolt will still be at liberty, even after my exhortation, to hold the same sentiments ; while my voice will fail in reaching such as may wish to hear, unless general silence be maintained.

“ I know, indeed, that many pompously declaim on the injuries inflicted by the procurators, and on the blessings of freedom. But, before inquiring who you are, and with whom you undertake to wage war, I would first disjoin the two intermingled pretexts for hostilities. If your object be vengeance on those who have injured you, why talk so gravely of liberty ? But if you think servitude intolerable, complaints against your governors are superfluous. For, did they even act with moderation, slavery would equally retain its turpitude.

“ Consider, separately, each of these, and how slight are the grounds for war ! And first as to the charges against your procurators. Duty enjoins us to conciliate, not to irritate, the authorities. But when of little offences you make great complaints, you exasperate, to your own prejudice, the individuals thus defamed ; so that where they formerly ill-treated you privately and with decency, they will now openly despoil you. But as nothing so much averts correction as patient submission, so the quiet demeanour of the wronged serves as a restraint on their oppressors. But, granting, that the Roman officers are beyond endurance severe, still, all the Romans do not wrong you, nor does Cæsar ; and yet it is against these you levy war. It is not by command that any one comes among you, from them, to be wicked : neither do they see from west to east ; nor is it easy to obtain in that quarter early intelligence from hence.

“ But it is absurd to wage war with many on account of one, and for trivial reasons, with so great a people ; and that too, when they know not what we complain of. And yet the evils with which we charge them may be speedily corrected, for the same procurator will not remain for ever ; and his successors, it is probable, will come in a spirit of greater moderation. War, however, once moved, it is neither easy to lay aside without calamity, nor yet to bear the burthen of it.

But your present desire of freedom is unseasonable, seeing you should have struggled earlier not to lose it. For the experience of servitude is bitter, and the exertion to avert its first approaches is just; but he who, once subdued, afterwards revolts, is a refractory slave, not a lover of liberty. For, then was the time for doing your utmost to prevent the Romans from gaining a footing, when Pompey made his first inroad upon your country.

“ But, our ancestors and their kings, who far excelled you in resources, and in energy both of body and mind, were unable to resist a small division of the Roman army; while you, to whom obedience is hereditary, and who in effective strength are so much inferior to those who first submitted to her, oppose the whole power of Rome. And yet the Athenians, who, to hand down to Greece her freedom, once consigned their city to the flames, and chased the haughty Xerxes, who sailed the land, and walked the sea, and whom, leading an army too extended for Europe, even the deep could not contain:—chased him, I say, fleeing with a single ship, and, about the little Salamis, broke the mighty strength of Asia—even they now serve the Romans; and the supreme city of Greece obeys commands from Italy. The Lacedæmonians, too, after Thermopylæ, and Plataea, and the ransack of Asia by Agesilaus, are content under the same masters. The Macedonians, likewise, who still picture to themselves Philip, with Alexander, and who saw the sovereignty of the world expiring before them, bear so great a change, and bow to those to whom fortune has transferred her favours.

“ Numberless nations besides, armed with higher claims to freedom, receive the yoke. You alone disdain servitude to those to whom the universe has submitted. On what troops, on what weapons, do you rely? Where is your fleet to occupy the Roman seas? Where the treasures sufficing for the enterprise? Do you suppose that it is with the Egyptians and Arabians that war is to be waged? Will you not reflect on the empire of the Romans? Will you not measure your own weakness? Have not your forces been frequently defeated by nations on your borders? and yet, through the world their strength has stood unconquered; nay rather, they have stretched their views farther even than this. For the entire Euphrates has not sufficed them on the east, nor the Danube on the north: nor, on the south, Libya, penetrated even to uninhabited climes; nor Gadeira on the west. But beyond the ocean they have sought another world, and have carried their arms far as the Britons, unknown before to history.

“ What then? Are you richer than the Gauls? stronger than the

Germans? more intelligent than the Greeks? more numerous than all who people the habitable globe? What is it that you confide in, which emboldens you to oppose the Romans? Slavery is grievous, some one will say. But how much more so to the Greeks, who, esteeming themselves the noblest of all whom the sun surveys, and occupying so extensive a country, submit to six Roman rods! A like number preserves in obedience the Macedonians, who possess a juster claim to liberty than you. But what of the five hundred cities of Asia? Do they not, though ungarrisoned, do homage to one governor, and the consular fasces? What need to speak of the Heniochi, the Colchi, and the tribe of the Tauri? Of those that inhabit the shores of the Bosphorus, and the nations bordering on Pontus, and Mæotis, who formerly knew not even a lord of their own, but are now held in subjection by three thousand soldiers; while forty long galleys pacify that previously innavigable, and inhospitable, sea?

“How strong a plea may Bithynia and Cappadocia, and the people of Pamphylia, the Lycians also, and Cilicians, put in for freedom? And yet they pay their tribute without force of arms. And what of the Thracians, who are spread over a country five days’ journey in breadth, and seven in length, more rugged, and much stronger than yours, and by the rigour of its climate repelling the invader. Do they not submit to two thousand Roman guards? And do not, as you advance from these, the Illyrians, who inhabit the region stretching as far as Dalmatia, and bounded by the Ister, yield to two legions alone, with whom they unite to repress the incursions of the Dacians? And as to the Dalmatians, who have so often made frantic efforts for liberty, and whose constant defeats but spurred them again to collect their strength, and raise the standard of revolt, do they not now at length live in quiet under a single Roman legion? But, if great advantages ought to stimulate any to insurrection, such a temptation is especially presented to the Gauls, completely fortified as they are by nature, on the east by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenæan mountains, and by the ocean on the west. But, though protected by such formidable barriers, and crowded with three hundred and five nations, enjoying, as one might say, the fountains of internal prosperity, and irrigating almost the whole inhabited world with their good things, yet they endure to be tributary to the Romans, and have their domestic happiness dispensed by them. And this they tolerate, not from effeminacy of mind, or as of ignoble stock—they who maintained, during eighty years, a war for freedom—but from being awe-struck at the power of the Romans, as at their fortune, which achieves more for them than arms. They are,

therefore, held in subjection by twelve hundred soldiers, a band scarcely equal in number to their towns.

“Nor did the gold of Iberia, wrought from her very surface, suffice in the contest for freedom, nor yet her vast distance from the Romans, both by land, and sea; nor the tribes of the Lusitanians, and Cantabrians, whose passion is war; nor the neighbouring ocean with its surging tides—so terrible even to the inhabitants! But, extending their military operations beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and holding their way through the clouds on the Pyrenæan mountains, even these have the Romans enslaved; and a single legion now suffices to bridle them, though conquered with so much difficulty, and so far removed.

“Which of you has not rumour informed of the horde of the Germans? Their strength and stature, you have, no doubt, frequently remarked, since everywhere the Romans have captives of that nation. Yet, this race of men, distributed through an immense tract, whose minds are greater than their bodies, whose souls despise death, and whose rage is fiercer than the wildest beasts, have the Rhine as a limit to their ferocity: and, tamed by eight Roman legions, the captured submit to slavery:—the rest of the nation seek safety in flight. But reflect, also, on the rampart of the Britons, you who confide in the walls of Jerusalem. For even these, girded by the ocean, and occupying an island not less than the country we inhabit, the Romans sailed to, and subdued. And, extensive as is that island, four legions keep it.

“But why need I enlarge, while even the Parthians, that most warlike of tribes, lords of so many nations, and invested with so mighty a dominion, send hostages to the Romans? And thus, in Italy, you may behold, under the guise of peace, the best born of the East bending to the yoke. And now, when almost every nation under heaven worships the Roman arms, will you alone maintain hostilities, regardless of the fate of the Carthaginians, who, though they boast their great Hannibal, and their illustrious Phœnician ancestry, fell beneath the right arm of Scipio? Nor have the Cyrenians, of Spartan descent, nor the Marmaridæ, a tribe who stretch to the regions of drought, nor yet have the Syrtes, whose very name strikes terror, the Nasamons, and the Moors, and the countless multitudes of the Numidians, checked the valour of the Romans.

“Africa, moreover, the third part of the globe, and whose nations it were not easy to enumerate, bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, and the Pillars of Hercules, and which, even to the Red Sea, feeds unnumbered Ethiopians, her, in her length and breadth, has Rome subdued. Besides their annual produce, which supports for eight months of the year the population of the Italian capital, these terri-

tories pay tribute in every form, and furnish ready revenues for the necessities of the empire. Nor do their inhabitants, like you, deem the commands they receive a disgrace, though but one Roman legion is stationed among them.

“ But why, by instances from distant climes, represent to you the power of the Romans, when Egypt affords an example at your door? This country—which extends as far as Ethiopia, and Arabia Felix, and borders upon India; which contains seven millions five hundred thousand souls, exclusive of the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be learned from the tax on the persons—does not disdain the empire of the Romans: though Alexandria presents to her so strong an incentive to revolt, from its great population and wealth, and its vast extent, being thirty furlongs in length, and in breadth not less than ten. This country pays more to the Romans in one month, than your annual tribute; and irrespective of money, she supplies Rome with four months’ corn. She is, moreover, protected on every side, either by almost impassable deserts, or by harbourless seas, or by rivers, or morasses. Yet have none of these been found too strong for the fortune of Rome. Two legions lying in that city curb not only the wide extent of Egypt, but the noble race of Macedon.

“ What help, then, will you obtain from the uninhabited quarters of the earth;—for all the inhabited portion belongs to Rome? Unless, possibly, some of you extend your hopes beyond the Euphrates, and suppose that your kindred will bring you aid from Adiabene. But they will neither involve themselves, on any frivolous pretext, in a war so serious; nor, were they so unadvisedly disposed, would the Parthian permit them; for he is careful to maintain the truce with the Romans, and would deem himself a violator of the treaty, should any under him rise in arms against them. Your last resource, therefore, must be in the Divine aid. But even this is arrayed on the side of the Romans; for without God’s concurrence it were impossible to consolidate so great an empire. Reflect, likewise, that, even were you contending with no formidable foe, the uncompromising character of your worship would create a difficulty, since those very laws, by which you mainly hope to secure the Divine assistance, will, if you are compelled to transgress them, render God your enemy; since, should you observe the usages of the sabbath, and put your hand to no work, you will fall an easy prey, as did your forefathers to Pompey, who pressed his operations with the greatest vigour on those days upon which the besieged rested. But if, in time of war, you transgress against the laws of your country, I know not for what you would further contend. For, you should have one object of solicitude—not

to violate any of your national institutions. But how can you call upon the Deity for aid, after infringing wilfully on the service due to him? All engage in war, relying either on divine or human assistance; but, when a contest cuts off all hope from both, in embarking in hostilities you choose manifest destruction. What, then, hinders you from dispatching with your own hands your children, and wives, and from giving this your native city, in its unsurpassed beauty, to the flames? For, by such an act of madness, you would at least save yourselves the ignominy of defeat.

“It is well, my friends, it is well, while the vessel is still in harbour, to foresee the coming storm, and not be borne from port into the midst of the hurricane. For we naturally pity those who fall into unexpected misfortunes, while he who rushes into foreseen destruction exposes himself at the same time to reproach. Unless, indeed, it be supposed, that you will wage war by compact; and that the Romans, when triumphant, will act towards you with moderation, and not, as an example to other nations, burn the Holy City to the ground, and root you out, as a people, from the earth. For those of you who may survive will not find a spot to flee to, since all have acknowledged the supremacy of the Romans, or fear that they soon must do so. The danger, however, threatens not us alone, but those also who reside in the other cities. For there is not a nation in the world where some of you are not to be found; all of whom, should you go to war, will be sacrificed in retaliation by your adversaries. And thus, through the evil counsels of a few men, will every city be deluged with Jewish blood. And it were pardonable in those who strike the blow.

“But, supposing they pursued a milder course, judge how impious it would be to take up arms against men so benevolent. Look with pity, then, if not on your children and wives, yet on this your metropolis, and the sacred boundaries. Spare the Temple, and preserve for yourselves this sanctuary with its holy things. For, if victorious, the Romans will no longer refrain from these, for sparing which before, they received so ungrateful a return. And now, I call your sanctuary to witness, and the holy angels of God, and our common country, that I have not treacherously dealt with any matter bearing upon your safety. If you adopt suitable measures, you will with me enjoy peace; but, if hurried away by passion, you will be involved in dangers, from which I shall keep myself exempt.”

Having spoken thus, he wept, as did his sister, and their emotion restrained in a great degree the violence of the people, who cried out, that they had not taken up arms against the Romans, but to avenge their sufferings on Florus. To this king Agrippa replied; “But

your actions are those of men already at war with the Romans. For you have not given the tribute to Cæsar, and you have cut off the communication between the colonnades and the Antonia. You will, however, exonerate yourselves from the blame of the insurrection, if you re-unite these, and pay the tribute. For the fortress is now no longer Florus's, nor to Florus will you give the money."

CHAPTER XVII.

1. ACQUIESCING in this advice, the people, with the king and Bernice, proceeded to the Temple, and commenced the rebuilding of the colonnades. The magistrates, moreover, and the members of the council, dispersing themselves through the villages, collected the tribute; and in a short time forty talents, the sum deficient, were obtained. And thus Agrippa repressed the menaces of war. On a later occasion he endeavoured to prevail on the multitude to obey Florus, until Cæsar should send a successor in his room. But exasperated at this, they severely reproached the king, and banished him, by proclamation, from the city. Some of the rioters, indeed, had the audacity even to throw stones at him. Seeing that the violence of the malcontents was not to be restrained, and incensed at the indignities offered him, the king despatched the magistrates and influential men to Florus, who was then at Cæsarea, that he might select some from among them to collect the tribute of the country. He then withdrew to his own dominions.

2. At this period a party of the chief fomenters of hostilities assembled, and attacked a fortress called Masada; and having made themselves masters of it by stratagem, they massacred the Romans, and replaced them with a garrison of their own. In the Temple, at the same time, Eleazar, son of Ananias the high priest, a very daring youth, then in command, persuaded those who officiated in public worship, to receive neither gift nor sacrifice of any foreigner. This was intended as a cause for war with the Romans; for the sacrifice of Cæsar on behalf of that people was rejected. Both the chief priests and men of note earnestly besought them not to omit the customary oblation for their rulers: but they were inexorable; confiding much in their numbers—supported as they were by the most energetic of the malcontents, and relying especially on the military genius of Eleazar.

3. The men of power accordingly assembled with the high priests,

as did also those of note amongst the Pharisees; and, as if under the pressure of calamities already irreparable, deliberated on the state of public affairs. Deeming it best to try persuasions with the disaffected, they convened the people before the brazen gate—that of the inner temple which fronted the sun-rising. And, first, they expressed at large their indignation at this daring insurrection, and at their country being threatened with so serious a war. They then exposed the absurdity of the pretext alleged; remarking, that their ancestors ornamented the sanctuary, in great measure, with the offerings of foreigners, invariably accepting gifts from external nations: that not only had they not prohibited the sacrifice of any—which would have been most impious, but they had even deposited around the temple offerings still to be seen, and which had remained there for so long a period. But by their present conduct, provoking the arms of the Romans, and courting a war with them, these made innovations in the alien-service; and in addition to the danger incurred, would brand their city with impiety, if, among the Jews alone, no stranger were allowed to sacrifice, or worship.

“Should such a law be introduced in the case of a single individual, and he in a private station, they would feel indignant at it, as an act of determined inhumanity; while yet they looked on with indifference when the Romans and Cæsar were placed under bann. There was reason to fear, however, lest, by rejecting the sacrifices for the Romans, they might be prohibited from sacrificing even for themselves, and that their city would be under the bann of the empire, unless, adopting without delay more prudent measures, they restored the sacrifices to their former footing, and repaired the injury, ere the rumour reached the injured.”

4. While making these observations, they brought forward certain priests, versed in the customs of their country, who stated, that all their ancestors had received the sacrifices of aliens. The disaffected, however, would listen to nothing; nor did the officiating priests perform the ministrations, being engaged in bringing about the war. The leading men, conscious of their utter inability now to suppress the insurrection, and that they would be the first to feel the resentment of the Romans, took steps to exonerate themselves from blame, and sent a deputation to Florus, at the head of which was Simon, son of Ananias; and at the same time another to Agrippa, among whom also were persons of distinction, Saul, Antipas, and Costobarus, relations of the king. They requested them both to come up with an army to the city, and crush the insurrection, while it was yet practicable to repress it.

To Florus, indeed, this dire intelligence was good news; and as he was anxious to fan the flame of war, he dismissed the embassy without reply. Agrippa, however, solicitous both for those who had revolted, and for those against whom hostilities were directed, and wishing both to preserve the Jews to the Romans, and their Temple and metropolis to the Jews; and sensible that disturbance would not conduce to his own interests, despatched to the aid of the people three thousand cavalry of Auranitis, Batanæa, and Trachonitis, under the orders of Darius, as master of the horse; Philip, son of Jacimus, being chief in command.

5. Encouraged by these succours, the leading men, with the chief priests, and as many of the populace as were friendly to peace, seized on the upper town; for of the lower, and the Temple, the insurgents were in possession. Stones and slings were employed without intermission, and missiles were hurled incessantly from both quarters. Occasionally, they sallied out in companies, and encountered each other in close combat: the disaffected displaying greater daring, the royal troops superior skill. Of the latter, the main object was to become masters of the Temple, and expel those who were profaning the sanctuary; the other party, headed by Eleazar, laboured to add the upper town to what they already held. During seven days the slaughter on both sides was uninterrupted; but neither relinquished the quarter they occupied.

6. The day following, being the festival of Xylophory, on which it was customary for every one to bring wood, that there might be a constant supply of fuel for the altar, the fire of which was never allowed to go out, they excluded their opponents from the observance; and having united with them many of the Sikars—for so were called the brigands who carried swords concealed in their bosoms, and who now crowded in among the feebler section of the people—they engaged in the enterprise with greater confidence.

Overpowered by their numbers and intrepidity, the royal troops, yielding to their impetuous opponents, retreated from the upper city. The insurgents then assailed the residence of Ananias, the high priest, and the palace of Agrippa and Bernice, and burned them to the ground. They next conveyed fire to the archives, in haste to destroy the contracts of the usurers, and prevent the exaction of debts, that they might win over the crowd of debtors, and enable the poor to rise with impunity against the rich. The keepers of the records having fled, they set fire to the building. When they had consumed these sinews of the state, they advanced against their opponents. Some of the leading men, and chief priests, now hid themselves in

sewers, whilst others fled with the royal troops to the upper palace, and instantly shut the gates. Among the latter were Ananias, the high priest, his brother Hezekiah, and the deputation to Agrippa. Satisfied with their victory and the conflagration, the insurgents paused for the present.

7. On the day following, which was the fifteenth of the month Loüs, they assaulted the Antonia, and, after a siege of two days, compelled the garrison to surrender, put them to the sword, and set fire to the fortress. They then removed to the palace, where the king's partizans had taken refuge, and forming themselves into four sections, assailed the walls. The blockaded party did not venture on a sally, deterred by the numbers of their antagonists; but, distributing themselves among the breastworks and turrets, they showered their missiles on those who approached; and the brigands fell in crowds under the ramparts. Neither by night nor by day was the conflict interrupted: the insurgents expecting that the assailed would be reduced by want of food: the royal troops, that their assailants would be subdued by fatigue.

8. Meantime, one Manahem, son of Judas, styled the Galilæan, a very able sophist, who formerly, in the time of Cyrenius, had upbraided the Jews with obeying the Romans, after having God for their master, accompanied by his associates, repaired to Masada, where he broke open the magazine of king Herod, and, in addition to his own adherents, armed other brigands, whom he employed as spearmen, and returned in royal pomp to Jerusalem, where he became leader of the sedition, and conducted the siege.

They were deficient, however, in engines; and openly to undermine the wall was impossible, assailed as they were with missiles from above. Accordingly, they worked a mine from a distance, and excavated the foundation of one of the towers. This they supported with timber, and, then setting fire to the props, retired. When these were consumed, the tower suddenly fell in ruins; but another wall, counter-built, appeared inside. For the besieged, aware of their design—the tower, perhaps, having been shaken while they were undermining it—had provided themselves with a second rampart; the unexpected sight of which spread consternation among the assailants, who already fancied themselves masters of the place. The garrison now sent to Manahem and the leaders of the insurrection, requesting permission to evacuate the fortress on terms. This was granted, but only to the king's troops, and to the natives of the place, who withdrew accordingly.

The Romans, thus left alone, became extremely dejected; for they

were unable to force their way through such a multitude; and to sue for a pledge of protection they considered a disgrace; besides that, were it granted, they could place no confidence in it. Abandoning their camp, therefore, as untenable, they retired to the royal towers, known by the names of Hippius, Phasaëlus, and Mariamne. Manahem and his party, instantly rushing into the place whence the troops had fled, slaughtered all who had not effected their retreat, plundered the baggage, and burned the camp. These events occurred on the sixth of the month Gorpæus.

9. On the day following the high priest Ananias was discovered hiding in a sewer of the palace, and, with his brother Hezekiah, was executed by the brigands. The insurgents now laid siege to the towers, and kept close watch lest any of the soldiers should escape. Manahem, inflated by the demolition of the places of strength, and the fall of the high priest Ananias, gave way to cruelty; and conceiving that he had no antagonist in the government, became an insupportable tyrant. Eleazar and his comrades, however, stood forward as his opponents, and interchanged remarks among themselves, to the effect, that it was unbecoming, after having revolted from the Romans through love of liberty, to betray it to a class of their own people, and to bow to a master, who, even if he had been guilty of no violence, was withal of humbler origin than themselves. Or, if it were necessary to invest any one with supreme authority, they agreed that he was the last to whom it should be confided; accordingly they attacked him in the Temple, whither he had gone up in state to worship, arrayed in royal attire, and attended by the zealots under arms. When Eleazar and his associates rushed upon him, the rest of the populace in sudden passion snatched up stones, and threw them at the sophist, in the hope that, were he once laid low, the whole sedition would be at an end.

For a time Manahem and his adherents resisted; but when they saw themselves assailed by the whole multitude, they fled whithersoever they could. All who were apprehended were put to death; and search was instituted for those in concealment. A few escaped, having secretly made their way to Masada; among them Eleazar, son of Jairus, a kinsman of Manahem, and who there in the sequel played the tyrant. Manahem himself retired to a place called Ophla, and, there abjectly hiding, was discovered, dragged forth to public view, and executed with every variety of torture. His officers, with Absalom, the most noted minister of his tyranny, met a similar fate.

10. In these proceedings the people, as I have stated, cooperated, in the hope of finding therein some radical corrective for the sedi-

tion; while by the others Manahem had been destroyed, not from over haste on their part to bring the war to a conclusion, but that they might prosecute it with greater license. Though earnestly entreated by the people to desist from the siege of the troops, they pressed it the more strenuously; until Metilius, who was in command of the Romans, relinquished all resistance, imploring, under terms of capitulation, their lives alone, and offering to surrender their arms, and other property. This petition was received with avidity; and Gorion, son of Nicomedes, Ananias, son of Sadduk, and Judas, son of Jonathan, were deputed to convey a pledge of protection, confirmed by oaths.

This done, Metilius marched down with his detachment, and so long as the soldiers were in arms, the insurgents neither assailed them, nor gave indication of treachery; but when, according to agreement, they had all laid down their shields and swords, and, no longer suspecting danger, were beginning to retire, Eleazar and his party rushed on them, surrounded and butchered them, neither defending themselves, nor suing for mercy, but loudly appealing only to the treaty, and their oaths.

Thus were they all cruelly massacred, Metilius excepted; whom on his prayer, and his promise to judaize even to circumcision, they spared alone. This loss to the Romans indeed was light, a few having fallen out of an immense army: but to the Jews it seemed a prelude of capture. And sensible that the causes of the war were now beyond remedy, and that the city was withal so horribly polluted, that it was natural to expect the Divine wrath, even if not the vengeance of the Romans, men publicly expressed their sorrow, and Jerusalem was filled with dejection. The more moderate were disturbed, as if doomed to suffer individually for the misconduct of the insurgents; for, it so happened that this slaughter was perpetrated upon the sabbath—on which, for the observance of religious duties, the Jews abstain from every work.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. ON the same day, and hour, as if by an avenging Providence, the Cæsareans slaughtered the Jews who resided amongst them. In one hour were massacred above twenty thousand, and Cæsarea was emptied of Jews. Some who were escaping, Florus seized, and sent as prisoners to the dock-yards. At this calamity in Cæsarea the whole

nation was infuriated; and distributing themselves in bands, they laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and the neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella, and Scythopolis. Making a descent next on Gadara, Hippos, and Gaulanitis, overthrowing some towns, and burning others, they advanced to Kedasa of the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais, Gaba, and Cæsarea. Neither Sebaste nor Ascalon withstood their attack; and having reduced these to ashes, they razed Anthedon and Gaza. Many hamlets, likewise, in the vicinage of each of these cities were plundered; and the slaughter of the captives was unbounded.

2. The number of Jews slain by the Syrians, however, was no way inferior: for, all captured in the towns, they too butchered, not merely, as before, from hatred, but to anticipate the danger which menaced themselves. Dreadful disorder now overspread the whole of Syria. Every city was divided into two camps; the safety of one section depending on the overthrow of the other. Thus they passed their days in blood, and their nights, still more distressing, in alarm. When the Syrians supposed that they had exterminated the Jews, the judaizers next became objects of suspicion. But no one ventured hastily to destroy a doubtful party, which, being of a mixed character, was feared, as if actually composed of aliens. Avarice, however, instigated to the murder of antagonists, even those who had previously enjoyed the reputation of peculiar mildness. For the effects of the slain they plundered with impunity; and as from a field of battle, they carried off the spoils of the slaughtered to their own houses. He was held in honour whose gains were the greatest, as having prevailed over a greater number. Cities might be seen filled with uninterred bodies;—the dead, old men and infants, being heaped together, with women stripped of the covering of modesty. The whole province was one scene of unutterable calamities: and the evils that succeeded in consequence of threatened dangers, surpassed the atrocities actually committed.

3. Thus far the Jews had been engaged with aliens; but on making an inroad into Scythopolis they found their brethren in that quarter in arms against them. For these, arrayed with the Scythopolitans, and preferring their own safety to the ties of consanguinity, marched to oppose their countrymen. Their extreme ardour, however, led to suspicion. The Scythopolitans, accordingly, fearing lest they might assault the city by night, and thus, by plunging them into serious calamity atone to their own kindred for their defection, directed them, if they wished to establish concord, and display their fidelity to their foreign allies, to retire with their families into the grove.

The Jews having without suspicion complied with these instructions, the Scythopolitans, in order to lull them into security, remained quiet for two days ; but on the third night, watching their opportunity, they butchered them all, some off their guard, some asleep, to the number of upwards of thirteen thousand, and pillaged everything they possessed.

4. The fate of Simon merits notice. He was the son of Saul, a person of no ignoble parentage, and was distinguished for his bodily strength and daring spirit ; both of which he abused to the prejudice of his countrymen. He accordingly made daily attacks on the Jews who lay before Scythopolis, and slew many, frequently putting their whole force to flight, his single arm turning the scale of victory. The retribution, however, due to the murderer of his kindred, overtook him. When the Scythopolitans had surrounded the Jews in the grove, and were pouring their darts upon them, he drew his sword, but instead of pointing it at any of his adversaries, sensible that against such a multitude resistance was vain, he cried out with deep emotion : “ Deservedly am I punished by you, Scythopolitans, for what I have done ; and for having, in shedding so much kindred blood, given proof of my good-will to you. For justly do they experience the perfidy of foreigners, who have been to the last degree impious towards their countrymen. I die, as execrable, by my own hands, unworthy to perish by those of the enemy. And let this be a retribution suited to my vileness ; may it be too an honourable testimony to my fortitude, that none of the foe can boast that he slew me, or glory over me as I fall.”

Having thus spoken, he looked round upon his family, consisting of his wife, children, and aged parents, with eyes, expressive at once of pity and rage ; and seizing, first, his father by his hoary locks, he ran him through with his sword ; and after him his mother, willing to receive the stroke : then, in succession, his wife and children, each—all but rushing on his sword, and hurrying to anticipate the enemy. Having thus dealt death to his whole family, standing over their bodies in view of all, and raising his right hand, that every one might be witness, he buried his sword in his own breast. The bodily strength, and determined spirit of the young man claim our commiseration ; but, as he had joined in a confederacy with aliens, he paid the consequent penalty.

5. After the massacre in Scythopolis, the other cities rose upon the Jews who severally resided with them. In Askalon there suffered two thousand five hundred ; in Ptolemais two thousand, besides multitudes thrown into prison. The Tyrians also put great numbers to

death, and kept a still greater number in prison. Those of Hippos and Gadara, in like manner, made away with the most daring, and committed the timid to custody. Thus did also the remaining cities of Syria, according as each was influenced towards the Jews by hatred, or by fear. The people of Antioch, however, with the Sidonians, and Apamians, alone spared those who dwelt among them, and permitted none either to be put to death, or imprisoned; induced perhaps by their own numbers, which led them to disregard any movement on the part of the Jews; but to me it rather seems, by compassion for those whom they saw attempting no innovation. The Gerasenes, moreover, left uninjured those who continued with them, and escorted to the frontiers any desirous to withdraw.

6. In Agrippa's dominions also a plot was concerted against the Jews. He had himself gone to Cestius Gallus, then at Antioch, leaving a friend of his, by name Noarus, a relative of king Sohemus, in charge of the government. But in the meantime there arrived from Batanæa a deputation of seventy persons, distinguished among their countrymen by birth and intelligence, requesting a military force, that, in case of any movement, they might have a sufficient guard at hand to repress the insurgents. These, Noarus, having despatched by night a body of the king's troops, slaughtered to a man; venturing on the act without the cognizance of Agrippa. Led by unbounded avarice to this impious conduct towards men of his own blood, he despoiled the kingdom. This cruel and oppressive line of conduct against the nation he persevered in until it came to the ears of Agrippa; who, though withheld by respect for Sohemus from putting him to death, immediately deprived him of his office.

The insurgents having taken a fortress, called Cypros, which overhung Jericho, massacred the garrison, and levelled the defences with the ground. About the same time the Jews, who had collected in great numbers in Machærus, prevailed on the Roman garrison to evacuate the place, and deliver it up to them. Apprehensive that it would be carried by assault, the Romans agreed to retire on terms; and having received the stipulated pledge, they surrendered the fortress, which the Machærites garrisoned, and retained in their possession.

7. In Alexandria there had been an uninterrupted feud between the Jews and native inhabitants, from the period when Alexander, who had found the former remarkably prompt to aid him against the Egyptians, granted them, as a reward for their assistance, permission to reside in the city, enjoying equal privileges with the Greeks. This

honour was continued to them likewise by his successors, who further allotted them a particular locality, that, being less intermixed with aliens, they might observe their usages in greater purity; and he accorded them the appellation of Macedonians. After the conquest of Egypt by the Romans, neither the first Cæsar, nor those who succeeded him, attempted to lessen the privileges conferred on the Jews by Alexander. Collisions, however, were constantly occurring between them and the Greeks, and though the governors daily punished many on both sides, the feud rather increased in virulence. At this juncture however, when the other districts were disturbed, the fire of contention between the two parties raged still more furiously.

Accordingly, when the Alexandrians were convened on the subject of an embassy which they were about to send to Nero, the Jews flocked in crowds into the amphitheatre along with the Greeks. Their antagonists, perceiving them, instantly denounced them with loud cries, as enemies, and spies, and springing forward laid hold of all they could seize. The remainder, in the effort to escape, were massacred, with the exception of three, whom the Alexandrians caught, and dragged off to burn them alive. The whole Jewish population rose to the rescue, and at first assailed the Greeks with stones; but soon after snatching up torches, they rushed to the amphitheatre, threatening to burn the assemblage in it to a man. And this they would quickly have effected, had not Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, repressed their violence. He did not however begin with the sword in reducing them to reason; but, sending privately the men of note to them, he exhorted them to desist, and not provoke the Roman soldiery. Treating this advice with derision, the insurgents launched out in invectives against Tiberius.

8. Perceiving that nothing short of some dreadful infliction would restrain the rioters, he let loose on them the two Roman legions quartered in the town, and with these a force five thousand strong, which, to the ruin of the Jews, had accidentally arrived from Libya. And not only was permission given to kill them, but to plunder their goods and burn their houses. The troops, rushing into that part of the city, called the Delta, for there the Jews resided, executed their orders, though

without loss; for the Jews, collecting in a body, and placing those best armed in front, long resisted; but when once they gave way, they were slaughtered in crowds. Their destruction was complete; whether they were caught in the plain, or driven into their houses; for these the Romans first pillaged, and then consigned to the flames. There was no pity for infancy—no reverence for years. Every age

was swept away in one promiscuous carnage, until the whole place was deluged with blood, and fifty thousand lay in lifeless heaps. Nor would a remnant have been spared, had they not sued for quarter. Alexander, touched with pity, directed the Romans to retire; and they, accustomed to obedience, at the first intimation desisted from slaughter. But not thus the Alexandrian populace, whose hatred was so intense, that it was not easy to call them off, and they were with difficulty torn from the bodies.

9. Such was the calamity in Alexandria. Cestius, deeming it imprudent longer to remain inactive while the Jews were everywhere up in arms, led up from Antioch the twelfth legion in full complement, two thousand picked men from each of the others, six cohorts of infantry, and four squadrons of cavalry, besides the auxiliaries from the sovereign princes, of which Antiochus furnished two thousand horse and three thousand foot, all bowmen; Agrippa an equal number of cavalry, and rather less than two thousand infantry; Sohemus following with four thousand, of which the third part were horse, and the rest archers. Thus attended, he marched on Ptolemais. Numerous auxiliaries had been collected, likewise, from the towns, inferior indeed to the troops in skill, but compensating in ardour and hatred of the Jews, for what they wanted in science.

To advise with him as to the route, and general contingencies, Agrippa accompanied Cestius; who, with a division of his force now advanced rapidly on Zabulun, a place of strength in Galilee, styled—the city of men, and separating Ptolemais from our nation. Finding it void of inhabitants, who had all fled to the mountains, but well stored with various kinds of property, he allowed his soldiers the plunder. The town itself, though of admirable beauty, the houses having been built on the model of those in Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, he reduced to ashes. Having then overrun the district, making booty of whatever fell in his way, and burning the villages around, he returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and more particularly the people of Berytus, still continued to pillage, the Jews resuming confidence, for they were aware that Cestius had retired, fell unexpectedly on those left behind, and put about two thousand of them to the sword.

10. Collecting his force, and breaking up from Ptolemais, Cestius advanced to Cæsarea, having previously sent forward a division of his army to Joppa, with orders, if they could capture the town, to garrison it; but, in case the citizens should receive intimation of their approach, to await his arrival with the main body. Accordingly, one detachment proceeding rapidly by sea, and another by land, they

assaulted the town on both sides, and took it without difficulty. And though the inhabitants had made no provision even for flight, much less for defence, the soldiers fell upon them, and, having massacred them and their families, plundered and burned the town. The slain amounted to eight thousand four hundred. Cestius having, in like manner, detached to the Narbatene territory, which borders on Cæsarea, a considerable body of cavalry, they laid waste the country—slaughtered vast multitudes of the inhabitants—made prey of their property—and laid the villages in ashes.

11. Cestius, confiding to Cesennius Gallus, commander of the twelfth legion, as large a force as he deemed sufficient for the subjugation of Galilee, despatched him into that province. Sepphoris, the place of greatest strength in that quarter, received him with acclamations; and, following this prudent example, the other cities remained quiet. The friends of disorder, and the whole brigand tribe, fled to a mountain in the very centre of Galilee, which lies over against Sepphoris, and bears the name of Asamon.

Against these Gallus led his force. So long as they retained the vantage of higher ground, they were enabled to strike the Romans as they approached, and they killed nearly two hundred: but when the latter, having made a circuit, gained a still more elevated position, the insurgents were quickly defeated; and, having no defensive armour, they could neither sustain the onset of heavy armed troops, nor yet in the flight escape the horse; so that a few only survived, concealed in places difficult of access. The number of the slain exceeded two thousand.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. GALLUS, seeing no farther symptoms of insurrection in Galilee, returned with his army to Cæsarea. Cestius, breaking up with his entire force, entered upon Antipatris; and, having heard that a considerable body of Jews had congregated in a tower called Aphek, he sent a detachment against them. The Jews having dispersed in terror without waiting the issue of an engagement, the Romans, on their arrival, burned their deserted camp, and the villages around. Cestius then advanced from Antipatris to Lydda, which he found emptied of its population, who, a few excepted, had gone up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles. Fifty persons, who showed

themselves, he put to the sword, and, having laid the town in ashes, continued his march; and ascending by Beth-horon, pitched his camp at a place called Gabao, distant fifty furlongs from Jerusalem.

2. The Jews, seeing the war at length approaching the capital, abandoned the festival, and betook themselves to arms; and, confiding much in their numbers, rushed in disorder, and with loud cries, to battle, paying no respect to the sabbatic rest; although by the Jews that sabbath was regarded with peculiar reverence. But the same rage which led them to shake off religion, rendered them victorious in the conflict. For, with such impetuosity did they fall upon the Romans, that they broke their ranks, and advanced through the midst of them, dealing death; and had not the horse, with a battalion of infantry which was tolerably fresh, wheeled round, and come up to support that part of the line which still maintained its ground, Cestius and his whole army would have been endangered. On the part of the Romans five hundred and fifteen were killed; of these four hundred were foot, and the remainder cavalry. The loss of the Jews was two and twenty. On the side of the latter, the most distinguished were Monobazus and Cenedæus, relatives of Monobazus, king of Adiabene. Next to these were Niger of Peræa, and Silas the Babylonian, who had deserted to the Jews from king Agrippa, with whom he had formerly served.

The Jews, being repelled in their advance, retreated to the city. But Simon, son of Gioras, having attacked the Roman rear as they were going up to Beth-horon, and cut up a great proportion of it, carried off many of the baggage mules, and led them into the town. As Cestius remained in the neighbourhood for three days, the Jews seized on the heights, and watched the approaches, evincing a determination not to continue inactive, once the Romans should begin to move.

3. At this juncture, Agrippa—sensible that the situation of the Romans also was not without danger, such an immense multitude had taken possession of the surrounding mountains—resolved to try the influence of persuasion on the Jews; in the hope, either of prevailing on all to desist from hostilities, or at least of inducing the dissentients to separate from the rest. He accordingly sent Borcæus, and Phæbus, those of his party best known to them, with a pledge of protection on the part of Cestius, and of an amnesty on that of the Romans for past offences, if they would lay down their arms, and go over to them. The insurgents, fearing lest the whole multitude should, in the hope of security, adopt the advice of Agrippa, rushed forward to slay the deputation. Phæbus they killed, even before

he had uttered a word: Borcæus, though wounded, effected his escape. Such of the people as were indignant at these outrages, they assailed with stones and bludgeons, and drove into the town.

4. Cestius, seeing that these intestine dissensions afforded him a favourable opportunity for attack, led out his entire force, routed the Jews, and pursued them to the gates of Jerusalem. Encamping at a place called The Scopus, distant seven furlongs from the city, he for three days suspended his operations against it, expecting that those within would possibly make some concession; but in the mean time he sent out numerous foraging parties to the villages around. On the fourth, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperberetæus, he marshalled his troops, and led them towards the town.

Hitherto the people had been held in check by the insurgents, but the latter, terror-struck at the good order of the Romans, now abandoned the suburbs, and retired into the inner city, and the Temple. Cestius, on entering, set fire to Bezetha, so named, the Cænopolis, and the place called the Timber Market; and, proceeding to the upper town, encamped opposite the royal residence. And had he chosen, at that precise moment, to force his way within the ramparts, he would at once have carried the city, and terminated the contest. But Tyrannius Priscus, the camp-prefect, with a numerous party of officers of horse, who had been bribed by Florus, diverted him from the attempt. To this cause may be attributed the protracted character of the war, and the irreparable calamities which filled up the fate of the Jews.

5. In the mean time many of the leading citizens, prevailed on by Ananus, son of Jonathan, invited Cestius, promising to open the gates to him. These overtures, however, partly from resentment, and partly from not fully confiding in them, he deferred accepting, until the insurgents, discovering the treason, chased Ananus and his accomplices from the ramparts, and, wounding them with stones, drove them into their houses. They then disposed themselves upon the towers, and showered their missiles on those who were attempting the wall. For five days the Romans pressed the assault on all sides, but without success, when, on the sixth, Cestius, at the head of a large body of picked men and archers, made an attack at the north quarter of the Temple. The Jews assailed them from the colonnade, and several times repulsed them as they advanced to the ramparts, and until, at length, overwhelmed with missiles, they gave way. The front rank of the Romans now fixed their shields firmly against the wall, the second united theirs to those of the preceding rank, and the next in like manner to theirs, forming what by them is called a Shell.

From this the darts as they fell glanced off without effect; and the soldiers, uninjured, undermined the wall, and prepared to set fire to the gate of the Temple.

6. A terrible panic now seized the insurgents; and many ran off from the town, as if its capture were momentarily impending. Encouraged by their flight, the people, as these miscreants retreated themselves, advanced in order to open the gates, and admit Cestius as a benefactor: and had he, for a short time, persevered in the siege, he would forthwith have carried the town. But God, as I conceive, already regarding even his sanctuary with aversion, on account of these wicked men, prevented the war from being on that day brought to a close.

7. Accordingly Cestius, acquainted neither with the despondency of the besieged, nor with the disposition of the people, suddenly drew off his troops; and, without having received the slightest check, abandoned his hopes, and contrary to all calculation retired from the city. The brigands, on this unexpected retreat, resuming confidence, sallied out upon his rear, and slew considerable numbers both of horse and foot. Cestius passed that night in the camp at the Scopus; and, on the following day by withdrawing to a greater distance, invited still further the attacks of his opponents, who, pressing upon him, cut up his rear; and, advancing on either side of his route, poured their javelins on his flanks. The hindmost ranks did not dare to turn on those who wounded them from behind, thinking that some countless multitude pursued them, neither did they attempt to beat off those who were pressing them in flank, being themselves heavily armed, and afraid of breaking their lines; while they saw the Jews unencumbered, and prepared to dash in among them: so that they suffered severely, without retaliating on their assailants.

Galled along the whole route, and thrown into disarray, they fell, until very many were slaughtered. Among the killed were Priscus, general of the sixth legion, Longinus a tribune, and Æmilius Jucundus, commander of a squadron of horse. With difficulty, and with the loss of much of their baggage, the Romans reached their former encampment at Gabao. Here Cestius halted for two days, perplexed as to what course he should pursue. But on the third, perceiving the numbers of the enemy greatly increased, and all around filled with Jews, he became sensible that the delay had been to his prejudice, and that, should he longer hesitate, he should have to contend against an augmented force.

8. To expedite his flight, he ordered the troops to rid themselves of every encumbrance; and the mules, and other beasts of burthen being killed, those excepted that carried the missiles and engines—

which they preserved for use, and especially from the dread of their being captured by the Jews, and turned against themselves—he advanced with his army towards Beth-horon. In the broader passes the Jews pressed them less closely, but once that they were involved in the descent of the defiles, one party hastened forward, and prevented their egress—another drove the rearmost down into the ravine ;—while the main body, extending themselves above the gorge, covered the phalanx with showers of missiles. And here, perplexed as were the infantry how to protect themselves, to the cavalry the danger was still more imminent. For thus assailed, they were unable to preserve their ranks along the route, and the charge up the steep was impracticable for horse. On either side were precipices and ravines, down which, losing their footing, they were borne headlong : and there was neither place for flight, nor time to deliberate on defence, but in perplexity they gave themselves up to lamentation, and the wailings of despair. The war-cry of the Jews answered them, and a mingled clamour of joy and rage. Cestius and his whole army would well nigh have perished, had not night intervened, during which the Romans took refuge in Beth-horon ; the Jews meantime occupying the whole country round, and guarding against their egress.

9. Cestius, despairing of open retreat, now took measures for flight ; and having selected four hundred of his bravest soldiers, he stationed them upon the ramparts, with orders, on taking their post, to raise the beacons of the camp-sentinels, that the Jews might think that the entire army was still on the spot. He himself, attended by the remainder, silently advanced thirty furlongs. In the morning, the Jews perceiving the night quarters of the army deserted, rushed upon the four hundred who had deceived them, speared them at the instant, and went in pursuit of Cestius.

He, however, even during the night, had got considerably in advance ; and now by day pushed more rapidly forward : the soldiers in terror and consternation abandoning the battering rams, the catapults, and many other engines, which fell into the hands of the Jews, who employed them in the sequel against those who had relinquished them. The Jews continued the pursuit as far as Antipatris, when, not having succeeded in overtaking the fugitives, they returned, secured the machines, stripped the dead, collected the booty which had been left behind, and with songs of triumph retraced their steps to the capital. The Jews in this whole affair lost but few : while of the Romans, and their allies, they killed five thousand three hundred foot, and three hundred and eighty horse. These events took place on the eighth of the month Dius, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

CHAPTER XX.¹

1. AFTER this catastrophe of Cestius many distinguished Jews abandoned the city, as they would a sinking ship. The brothers Costobarus and Saul, accordingly, with Philip, son of Jacimus, camp-prefect of king Agrippa, fled from Jerusalem, and took refuge with Cestius. The fate of Antipas, who had been besieged with them in the palace, and who, disdaining flight, was slain by the insurgents, we shall relate hereafter. Cestius, at their own request, sent Saul and his party into Achaia to Nero, to acquaint him with their difficulties, and throw the blame of the war on Florus; for he hoped, by exciting resentment against him, to diminish his own danger.

2. Meantime the Damascenes, informed of the disaster of the Romans, hastened to make away with the Jews who resided amongst them; and as they had, some time before, under the influence of suspicion, shut them up in a body in the Gymnasium, they expected, that—this advantage being already gained, they should the more easily accomplish their purpose. They distrusted their own wives, however, who, with few exceptions, were attached to the Jewish religion; and their main endeavour, therefore, was to keep them in ignorance of their designs. Attacking the Jews, thus cooped up, to the number of ten thousand, and all unarmed, in one hour they massacred them unresisting.

3. The party who had pursued Cestius, on their return to Jerusalem, brought over those attached to the cause of the Romans, some by force, and some by persuasion; and, having assembled in the Temple, appointed additional generals for the war. Joseph the son of Gorion, and Ananus the high priest, were elected to the supreme control of affairs in the city, with an especial charge to restore the fortifications. For Eleazar, the son of Simon, though he had in his possession the spoils of the Romans, with the money taken from Cestius, and much of the public treasure besides, they did not invest with the administration, as they saw him to be aiming at despotic power, and his retainers observing the usages of a royal body-guard. In a short time, however, the want of money, and the intrigues of Eleazar, so wrought upon the people, that his authority in the state became paramount.

4. For Idumæa, likewise, they appointed other generals, Joshua the son of Sapphias, one of the chief priests, and Eleazar, son of the chief priest Ananias. They further issued their instructions to Niger,

then governor of Idumæa, who, being descended from a family of Peræa beyond Jordan, was thence called—the Peraite, to act under the orders of these officers. Nor were the other districts neglected. Joseph, the son of Simon, was sent to command in Jericho; Manasseh in Peræa; and John the Essæan in the district of Thamna. To him were allotted, likewise, Lydda, Joppa, and Ammaus. Of the Gophnitic and Acrabatene territory, John, son of Ananias, was appointed president; as was Josephus, son of Matthias, of either Galilee. Under his control was also placed Gamala, the strongest of the towns in that quarter.

5. Of the other commanders, each administered the district confided to him, according to his zeal and abilities. Josephus, however, proceeding into Galilee, made it his first object to conciliate the good will of the inhabitants; assured, that, by so doing, he should for the most part prove successful, though he might occasionally fail. Sensible that he should secure the friendship of the nobles by sharing with them his authority, and of the people, if he conducted affairs through the medium of their countrymen and acquaintances, he selected from the nation seventy persons, of mature years, and eminent for wisdom; and these he appointed magistrates of the whole of Galilee; with seven, in each city, for the adjudication of minor differences. The more important matters, and capital cases, he directed to be referred to himself, and the seventy.

6. Having established laws for the internal regulation of the towns, he turned his attention to their security from external attack. Aware that the Romans would invade Galilee, he fortified the suitable posts of Jotapata, Bersabe, and Selamis, as also Caphareccho, Japha, and Sigoph, with the mountain called Tabor, as well as Tarichæa, and Tiberias. He moreover secured with walls the caves at the lake of Gennesareth, in the Lower Galilee, and in the Upper, the Rock of Achabara, as it is termed, with Seph, Jannith, and Mero.

In Gaulanitis he fortified Seleucia, Sogane, and Gamala. The Sepphorites, alone, he permitted to construct walls for themselves, observing that they had ample resources, and were, even without encouragement, eager for hostilities. In like manner, also, John, son of Levi, at his own expense, fortified Gischala, by command of Josephus. During the erection of the other fortresses Josephus remained upon the spot, aiding and directing. He further raised in Galilee a force of above a hundred thousand young men, all of whom he equipped with old weapons, which he had collected.

7. Sensible that the Roman army had become invincible, chiefly from prompt obedience, and military training, he despaired of a

discipline, pursued only in the moment of need. But, remarking that their ready obedience was attributable to the number of their officers, he divided his army more on the Roman model, and increased the number of his captains. He, moreover, distributed the soldiers into different classes, and these he placed under decurions, centurions, and tribunes; and, in addition to these, he nominated generals for the larger divisions. He taught them, likewise, how to pass the watchword; to advance and retreat by sound of trumpet; to bring up the wings to the charge, and wheel round; and in what manner they were to return from a successful quarter to the relief of their comrades where hard pressed, and to share the labours of the fatigued. Whatever conduced to mental fortitude or hardihood of frame, he constantly inculcated. But he chiefly trained them for the war by explaining to them in detail the discipline of the Romans, and that they had to cope with men who, by strength of body, and intrepidity of mind, had conquered almost the whole inhabited world.

He told them, that he would receive it from them as a proof of their discipline as warriors, even before they took the field, if they abstained from the usual excesses—theft, robbery, and rapine; from defrauding their countrymen; and from regarding the damage of their nearest kindred as a gain to themselves. For those wars are most successfully conducted, in which the soldiery preserve an approving conscience; as they who are depraved at heart meet adversaries not only in their antagonists, but also in a hostile God.

8. Many such exhortations he ceased not to employ. He had now mustered all that were ready for service—sixty thousand infantry, and two hundred and fifty cavalry; and besides this force, on which he mainly relied, about four thousand five hundred mercenaries. Around his person he retained a body-guard of six hundred picked men. If we except the mercenaries, the other troops were supported by the towns, with but little difficulty; for of those enrolled, each city sent out to the army one half of its male population; the remainder being detained at home to provide these with necessaries. Thus, while to the one were assigned military duties, and to the other domestic labours, they who furnished the supplies were repaid with safety by those in arms.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. WHILE Josephus was thus administering affairs in Galilee, there appeared upon the stage an intriguing character, a native of Gischala, John the son of Levi; in craft and duplicity pre-eminently distinguished, in acts of infamy first among mankind. Indigent in the commencement of his career, his poverty was long an obstacle to his depravity. Prompt at falsehood, and adroit in attaching credit to his fictions, he deemed deceit a virtue, and employed it against his bosom friends;—a pretender to philanthropy, and yet in the prospect of lucre most sanguinary; ever lofty in his aspirations, yet feeding his hopes with the meanest artifices. A solitary brigand, he subsequently formed associates in his daring; few at first, indeed, but he daily extended their numbers: careful to unite with him no one who would be an easy prey to an assailant, he selected such as excelled in bodily activity, in intrepidity, and acquaintance with the arts of war. He accordingly drew together a band of four hundred men, for the most part fugitives from the district and villages of Tyre. With their aid he ravaged the whole of Galilee, and harassed the public mind, already in a state of excitement on the subject of the approaching war.

2. John, while thus aspiring to command, and prosecuting his schemes of ambition, had hitherto found a check in the want of pecuniary resources. Perceiving that Josephus was greatly captivated with his energy, he prevailed on him in the first instance to entrust him with the repairs of the fortifications of his native city; an undertaking in which he enriched himself at the expense of the opulent. He next devised a most crafty scheme, ostensibly to preserve those Jews who resided in Syria from using oil not prepared by their own countrymen; and he requested permission to furnish that article to them at the frontier.

With Tyrian coin of the value of four Attic drachmas, he purchased four amphoras of oil, and at the same price sold half an amphora. But as Galilee was an olive country, and was at that time especially abounding with oil, he, by sending it in large quantities to those who wanted it, and enjoying a monopoly in the trade, amassed immense wealth, which he forthwith employed against the individual who had allowed the transaction. Supposing that, could he effect the ruin of Josephus, he should command Galilee, he directed the brigands under

him to pursue their rapines with greater ardour, in order that, as there were abettors of innovation in the district, he might either lay an ambush for the general when carrying succours to some quarter, and despatch him; or, that, in case he should overlook the brigands, he might calumniate him to the inhabitants. He then circulated a report from a distance, that Josephus was undoubtedly purposing to betray the state to the Romans; and many such devices did he resort to for the ruin of the man.

3. At this juncture some youths from the village of Dabaritta, who kept guard in the Great Plain, lay in ambush for Ptolemy, the steward of Agrippa and Bernice, and plundered him of the whole of his baggage, among which were not a few costly vestments, a number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold. Unable to dispose secretly of the booty, they brought the whole to Josephus, who was then at Tarichæa. He reprehended them for their violence to the king's servants, and committed the property he had received to the custody of Æneas, the person of greatest influence in Tarichæa, with the design of returning it to the owners, when occasion offered: a procedure which involved him in extreme danger. For the plunderers, as well indignant at being allowed no share of the spoil, as foreseeing Josephus' intention to pay a compliment to the king and queen at their expense, ran off by night to their several villages, representing Josephus to all, as a traitor. They moreover filled the neighbouring towns with tumult, insomuch that, in the morning, a hundred thousand had assembled in arms against him.

The multitude, congregated in the Hippodrome at Tarichæa, assailed him with many and angry vociferations, some crying out to stone, others to burn, the traitor. To this they had been instigated by John, seconded by one Joshua, son of Sapphias, and at that time governor of Tiberias. Josephus' friends and body-guards, terrified at the fury of the crowd, all fled, four only excepted. When the rioters were almost in the very act of setting fire to the house, he started up from sleep. The four who remained exhorted him to make his escape; but, dismayed neither by his deserted situation, nor by the numbers who beset his house, he rushed forward with his robe rent, and with dust sprinkled on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword suspended from his neck. On seeing him, his acquaintances, but especially the Tarichæans, were moved to pity. Those from the country, however, and some nearer home, who deemed him oppressive, loaded him with invectives, and ordered him instantly to produce the public money, and confess his traitorous compact. For they concluded, from his mien, that he would deny

none of the delinquencies of which he was suspected, and that, to obtain pardon, he had got up all this piteous display.

But this exhibition of humiliation was preliminary to a stratagem on his part. With the design of sowing dissension among those who were exasperated against him, and that on the subject which had awakened their ire, he promised to make a full confession. Then being permitted to speak, "It was my intention," he said, "neither to return this money to Agrippa, nor to appropriate it to my own use; for I never deemed him a friend, who was an enemy to you, nor that beneficial to myself, which was injurious to the public. But observing your city—men of Tarichæa—destitute of defence, and in want of funds for the construction of walls, and fearing the people of Tiberias, and the other cities who were lying in wait for the spoil, I determined to keep quiet possession of the money, in order to surround you with a rampart. If this displease you, however, I shall produce what was brought to me, and permit you to plunder it; but if I consulted well for you—then punish your benefactor."

4. On this the Tarichæans were loud in his praise, while the Tiberians, with the others, vilified and threatened him. Leaving Josephus, the two parties now began to quarrel among themselves; while he, confiding in his supporters, for the Tarichæans numbered up to forty thousand, addressed the crowd with greater freedom, and severely rebuking their rashness, observed, that "with the sum in question he would fortify Tarichæa, and put the other towns, also, in a posture of defence. Money would not be wanting, could they but agree at whose expense funds were to be provided, instead of lavishing their anger on him who provided them."

5. The remainder of the party who had been thus deluded now withdrew, but under high excitement. Two thousand, however, rushed in arms upon him; and although he succeeded in retreating to his house, they beset it, threatening him. In this emergency Josephus had recourse to a second artifice. Having ascended to the roof, and, motioning with his hand, calmed the tumult, he expressed his ignorance of the nature of their demands, as it was impossible to hear them amidst the confused clamour. Whatever they should order, he would do, if they would send in some of their number to confer quietly with him. On hearing this, the leading rioters, and the magistrates, entered. Having dragged them into the most retired part of the house, and closed the vestibule, he scourged them until their bowels were laid bare. The mob meantime stood outside supposing their friends engaged in a lengthened parley. He then suddenly opened the doors, and, dismissing the men, covered with blood, struck

the rioters with such consternation, that they threw away their arms, and fled.

6. These occurrences inflamed, so much the more, the jealousy of John, and he formed a second plot against Josephus. Pretending sickness, he requested Josephus' permission to use the hot baths of Tiberias for the re-establishment of his health. Josephus, not yet suspecting the intriguer, wrote to the magistrates of the town to provide him with apartments, and necessaries. Availing himself of these, John, two days after, proceeded to carry out the objects of his visit. Having gained over some by plausible pretences, others by bribes, he prevailed on them to revolt from Josephus. Silas, to whom Josephus had confided the protection of the town, having learned what was going forward, wrote immediately to acquaint him with the conspiracy. On receiving the letter Josephus set out, and, marching with all speed during the night, arrived early in the morning at Tiberias.

The populace came forth to meet him; but John, though suspecting no good to himself from this visit, sent notwithstanding one of his acquaintances, and, feigning illness, stated, that, being confined to bed, he was unable to pay his respects. When Josephus, who had convened the Tiberians in the stadium, was endeavouring to address them on the subject of the letters, John privately despatched a party of men with orders to kill him. The people, observing them drawing their swords, cried out. Josephus turning round at the clamour, and seeing their blades ready for slaughter, sprang off to the beach—he had been standing, haranguing the crowd, on a tribunal elevated six cubits—and leaping into a boat, which was at hand, with two bodyguards, escaped to the middle of the lake.

7. His soldiers, hastily snatching their arms, advanced against the conspirators. Josephus, however, fearing, should a domestic war arise, that the city would be ruined through the jealousy of a few, sent a message to his adherents to provide merely for their own safety, and neither to put any one to death, nor prefer accusations against the guilty:—and, in obedience to his instructions, they remained quiet. Those in the neighbourhood, however, hearing of the plot, and by whom it had been concerted, assembled to punish John; but he had already taken the precaution of fleeing to Gischala, his native place. The Galilæans from the towns now flocked in arms, to the number of many tens of thousands, to Josephus, declaring that they stood there as foes of John, the conspirator against all; and that they were determined to burn him, with the city that had received him.

Josephus, while he expressed himself grateful for their kindness,

curbed their impetuosity, preferring to subdue his enemies rather by policy, than the sword. Accordingly singling by name those in the several towns who had espoused John's cause, and whom the populace in each readily pointed out, and threatening by proclamation to seize the effects of all who did not within five days withdraw from John, and to burn their houses and families, three thousand instantly deserted John, and, presenting themselves to Josephus, threw down their arms at his feet. John, with the remainder—about two thousand Syrian fugitives—again betook himself from more open, to clandestine artifices. He accordingly despatched messengers privately to Jerusalem calumniating Josephus on the ground of his overgrown power, and stating that he would forthwith become the tyrant of his country, unless he received a timely check. These insinuations the people were prepared to expect, and they listened to them with indifference.

The leading men, however, from envy, in conjunction with some of the magistrates, secretly supplied John with money, for the enlisting of mercenaries, that he might proceed to hostilities against Josephus. They likewise passed a decree among themselves for the recal of the latter from his command; but not thinking a decree alone sufficient, they sent down a force of two thousand four hundred men, accompanied by four persons of distinction, Joesdrus, the son of Nomicus, Ananias, the son of Sadduk, and Simon and Judas, sons of Jonathan, all extremely eloquent, and charged to alienate the affections of the people from Josephus. Should he voluntarily yield, they were to grant him an opportunity of justifying his conduct; but, should he persist in remaining, they were to treat him as a foe.

His friends had, in the mean time, written to inform Josephus that an army was advancing against him, but did not assign the reasons; the matter having been determined in secret conclave by his enemies. Hence, as no precautionary measures had been adopted, four cities, Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias, went over to his opponents immediately on their arrival. These, however, he soon brought back without recourse to arms; and having got into his power, by stratagem, the four leaders, and their ablest soldiers, he sent them back to Jerusalem. Against these the people evinced extreme indignation, and would have killed them along with those who commissioned them, had they not prevented it by a timely flight.

8. From this period the dread of Josephus confined John within the walls of Gischala. But a few days had elapsed when Tiberias again revolted; its inhabitants having previously invited king Agrippa. Although that prince did not arrive at the time appointed, yet a few

Roman horsemen happening on that day to make their appearance, they forbade Josephus the city by proclamation. Tidings of this defection were immediately conveyed to Tarichæa. Josephus, who had sent out his entire force on a foraging excursion, could neither go out alone against the malcontents, nor yet could he await the issue, as he feared lest, in case he delayed, the royal troops would anticipate him in occupying the town; nor could he withal, on the day following, engage in any work, the sabbath intervening.

He conceived the idea, therefore, of circumventing the insurgents by an artifice; and ordering the gates of Tarichæa to be shut, that no intimation of his design might be conveyed to those against whom it was to be employed, he collected all the vessels on the Lake—two hundred and thirty were found, and there were not more than four sailors in each—and made sail with all speed for Tiberias. Shortening way at such a distance from the town as to prevent any close inspection, he ordered the empty vessels to move to and fro, whilst he himself, attended only by seven of his guards unarmed, drew near so as to be distinguishable from the shore. His opponents, who were still inveighing against him, seeing him from the walls, and supposing in their terror that the entire fleet was filled with troops, threw down their arms, and with imploring signs besought him to spare the city.

9. Josephus, after threatening them severely, and upbraiding them—in that, while they had first taken up arms against the Romans, they now wasted their strength in civil dissensions, doing what was most beneficial to their foes; and next hastened to destroy the man who had been the guardian of their safety, nor were ashamed to close their city against him who had fortified it—declared, notwithstanding, that he would receive any who would express contrition, and aid him in securing the town.

Ten of the most influential of the Tiberians, accordingly, came down to him without delay, and having taken them on board one of his vessels, he carried them out to a considerable distance. Fifty others of the council, men of high distinction, he ordered to repair to him, as if with the view of receiving some pledge from them. Then, under new pretexts, he sent for others in succession, as if to ratify the compact, directing the pilots of the ships, thus filled, to proceed with all haste to Tarichæa, and there to shut up the men in prison; until, having seized the whole council, to the number of six hundred, with about two thousand of the populace, he despatched them to Tarichæa.

10. The remainder loudly exclaiming against one Clitus, as chief mover of the revolt, and entreating that his anger should be wreaked

GENERAL NOTICE RESPECTING THE PLATES, AND THE ACCOMPANYING EXPLANATIONS.

THE Plates accompanying this work, whether they may be more or less pictorial and ornamental as to their style and subject, are intended to subserve three distinct purposes, which it may be well now at the commencement to specify. The first of these purposes is the general one of aiding the conceptions of the reader, in an agreeable manner, while perusing the narrative of Josephus, and enabling him to bring before his mind, graphically, the scene of any signal transaction, as well as the aspects of the country where the events took place. Almost every reader of history, and certainly every imaginative reader, gladly accepts this sort of assistance in following a narrative, by means of which life and reality are imparted to the historic page. A large proportion of the landscape subjects attached to this work will be of a kind to take their place under this head. The same, or an analogous purpose, will also be subserved by the medallion Heads of the Greek and Roman personages of the history, upon which great care has been bestowed, with the express intention of thus bringing the principal actors upon the scene (so far as the materials for doing so are extant) and of effecting this purpose in the most vivid manner possible. And if it be true—which few profess to doubt—that, by a law of human nature, the outward form and features are sure exponents of character, then will these portraitures, unquestionably authentic as they are, serve at once to verify the testimony of history, and to shed upon it the light of reality: and it is certain that an elaborately-executed medallion will produce an effect in this way, which a diminutive and meagre outline of a coin would never secure.

Another class of the Plates, many of which will be less pictorial in their style, and less elaborate than the preceding, will be brought forward in direct elucidation of some particular passage of Josephus; and in most cases they will tend, along with the accompanying explanations, to vouch for his accuracy and veracity in a striking manner; while occasionally they may serve to correct or modify his statements. It is hoped that, with due care, the Illustrations which come under this second class, will have the effect of placing the reputation of Josephus, as well as to the genuineness of his writings at large, as their precision in special instances, on a basis of substantial proof, and where it may rest quite secure from those vague and

sweeping imputations with which it has been assailed. Josephus, even if dealt with in the most rigorous manner, will be found to be one of the best-informed and exact of ancient writers.

There is yet a class of the Plates to be named, the intention of which, with the attendant explanations, will be to elucidate certain points of Jewish archæology, that are more or less intrinsically important, although not attaching to such or such a book and chapter of the writings of Josephus. They are proper to Jewish history, or they belong to the antiquities of Palestine; and even if less definitely relating to our author than some others, are not to be regarded as irrelevant to the general subject; in fact these adjunctive materials find reason enough for their insertion, when the bearing of these writings upon the Canonical Scriptures is remembered. And who can forget that the ever new attention which Josephus commands is derived, in great measure, from that very relationship? In this department, therefore, if a degree of liberty is used, it is a liberty for which the devout and intelligent reader of the Bible will no doubt readily grant indulgence.

While, as to each of the above-mentioned classes of Plates, a serious purpose—the elucidation of writings so grave and important, has overruled lower considerations—those, we mean, of mere decoration—yet *these* have not been neglected whenever they might be regarded without a compromise of truth and accuracy. The rule has been to render the illustrations first as true to fact as possible; and then, decorative and pictorial. But on this ground some explanation is due to the reader—we should say especially to the English reader.

Of late years Views in Palestine have been very copiously offered to the public; and in truth, the taste of the lovers of art has been, one might say, pampered in this particular line. The highest merit, considered as works of art, has attached to some of these productions. Richness of effect, grandeur of outline, softness and high finishing, have recommended them; and a good degree of executive excellence has belonged, even to some unpretending decorations of books of travels. Indeed, as to mere accuracy of delineation, perhaps some of the most ordinary of these views, or the least expensive of them, have equalled the more elaborate, and have as well fulfilled the promise of exhibiting the Holy Land and its antiquities. In contemplating with delight certain splendid pictorial exhibitions of oriental scenery, the question arises—Is this indeed “the East?”—is this the sober aspect of those countries? or will the traveller who is recently returned thence authenticate them as simply true? Now without attempting a reply to such inquiries, and while we may admit that these beautiful pictures have been indebted in only a fair degree to the skill of the artist, something may be said which, without implying censure upon others, may explain what has been aimed at in preparing the landscape subjects attached to this Work. In a word, then, the endeavour has been—to present to the eye and to the mind—Palestine, such as, in homely reality it appears, seen in its own atmosphere, and under its own sky;—

not such as an English landscape-painter might wish to find it. Vast indeed is the difference between a Syrian landscape and the rich beauty of the more favoured districts of England, especially when seen at the moment of those happy atmospheric accidents, of which the skilful artist knows how to avail himself. It is quite natural that whatever courts favour and patronage from the English public, should be brought into conformity with that taste for the picturesque, and for richness of effect, which is characteristically a national taste. Now this taste, which once belonged only to the few who were qualified to exercise an intelligent discrimination, has of late—and especially by the aid of steel engraving—been diffused among the many who will demand, in whatever is offered to their purchase, the well-recognised conditions of English landscape beauty. The soft graces of Winander Mere and Ulleswater must belong to landscape, come whence it may! Broad masses of foliage, the softnesses of aerial perspective, graceful and lively contrasts of light and shade, the sprightly and pleasing adjuncts of rural scenery;—or the forest-embosomed ruins—the tottering castles and abbeys of western and northern Europe, these are the materials always at the command of the English landscape-painter, and which he is expected to employ.

But how different are the elements and the accidents of a Syrian landscape!—The general aspect of Palestine—all mental association apart—is a dreary tameness. In a few districts, indeed, such, for instance, as the western border of the Dead Sea, an abrupt grandeur—the stern sublimity of desolation—arrests the traveller's eye; and Lebanon has its Alpine aspects of vastness: certain narrow regions, too, boast a flowery richness: these are, however, the exceptions. Nor again, does the climate of the East, by its meteorologic changes, much enhance the effect of permanent objects. The eye traverses far, but it is not relieved by that aerial subordination of distances which in our latitudes is the charm of a summer's landscape. A severe outline, itself not, ordinarily, including the elements of grandeur, defines the several ranges of the country. In England, a distance of a dozen or fifteen miles gives a pearly tenderness of tone, and affords an exquisite relief to the mid-distances. In Syria, the same extent of view presents only a lurid tinge, the horizon line cutting hard upon the sky. The eye finds repose upon no compartment of the circle of vision: the heavens glare upon the earth, and the earth frowns beneath it. Gorgeous effects of sun-set do indeed occur; but they are very transient; nor is there any achievement of art in which failure is so usual, as when the pencil essays to fix these glorious accidents of oriental landscape.

The conscientious artist, therefore, who would win a substantial praise in exhibiting Palestine to English eyes, should wholly lay aside the hope and endeavour to transmute the Syrian, into the English landscape style; or to make a Loch Lomond of the Sea of Galilee. He should be content with what is simply *true*, while employed in placing before us scenes, and while delineating archæological remains, which want no meretricious aids

to secure the profound regards of every thoughtful and intelligent person. Palestine is—The Holy Land of all lands, and to christianised and civilised communities, every spot of its surface speaks more than the pencil, or the pen, or the voice, can convey.

As to the explanations attached to the Plates, the intention kept in view in many of them, would be best conveyed, if we were rather to speak of the Plates as attached to these literary portions of the work. Some one subject—historical or archæological, some point more or less important in itself, and forming a branch of the annotation which Josephus seems to demand, will be treated in most instances. In some cases a system of Plates, embracing five, six, or more, finished or outline subjects, will be given in connexion with a dissertation on passages of Jewish history, claiming to be of more than ordinary moment.

POPPÆA.—(PAGE 33.)

THIS engraving has been made from a Coin in the British Museum, one-third the size. The obverse is a Nero, of whom, however, many coins better preserved, as well as better executed, are available, one or more of which will be made use of in the following Parts of this work. Great care has been taken to define correctly the almost effaced markings of this beautiful head. A portion of the legend—ΠΟΠΠΙΑΣ ΣΕΒΑΤΗΣ, POPPÆA, AUGUSTA, is quite gone. This unfortunate, and not guiltless woman, designated by Josephus, "Cæsar's wife," and whom, in another place, *ANTIQUITIES* XX. viii. 11, he calls "a woman of piety," was the daughter of Titus Ollius, and wife, first of a Roman knight, named Rufus Crispinus, afterwards, by abduction of Otho; and finally, and after an intrigue, of Nero. The opinion we should form of her, were we to listen only to Dion Cassius, to Suetonius, and to Pliny, ought perhaps to be modified, or held in suspense, by the more favourable testimony rendered to her by our author, who was not merely her contemporary, but who had been admitted to her intimacy, and had witnessed more than one instance of amiable intervention in behalf of the unfortunate. In applying to Poppæa, as he does, the epithet—Θεοσεβής, and in the sense in which a Jewish writer ought to be understood as employing such a term, Josephus must be considered as meaning to say, that Nero's consort was, if not a worshipper of the true God, not a blind worshipper of heathen divinities. Indeed it may easily be supposed that the empress, along with other distinguished persons of "Cæsar's household," at that time, had imbibed, from Jewish and from Christian teachers, some knowledge of the first truths in religion, as well as perhaps some feeble consciousness of moral obligation.

Adorned as she was with every personal charm, and graced with every attractive endowment—præter honestum animum—she was so unhappy as

to win the capricious favour of a monster ; but she quickly learned how terrible is the love of a being such as Nero. The nuptials of Poppæa were rendered odious by the indecent haste with which they followed the divorce of Octavia ; for they were celebrated, as Suetonius informs us, on the twelfth day after that event—*duodecimo die post divortium* :—ill-omened marriage ! Notwithstanding the ardour of the passion professed by the husband, who had advanced to it through a path of murder, he early inflicted death upon his wife, by a brutal kick ! *Dilexit unice*, says the historian, *et tamen ipsam quoque ictu calcis occidit*—provoked by her reproaches as he returned from the circus. *Post finem ludieri*, says Tacitus, *Poppæa mortem obiit, fortuitâ mariti iracundiâ, a quo gravida, ictu calcis afflicta est.* A.D. 65.

Tacitus tells us, ANNAL. XVI. 6, that the body of Poppæa was not, according to the Roman custom, committed to the funeral pile ; but, after the manner of royal obsequies in the East, was embalmed with costly spices. It was then deposited in the tomb of the Julian family. Besides the spices employed in the embalment, an immense quantity was consumed in the course of the funeral rites. Pliny the Elder, XII. 18, affirms, as a fact well known at the time, that the quantity of spices burned by Nero on that occasion, exceeded the customary annual produce of Arabia. The ceremony was performed with great pomp ; Nero, who, as Tacitus assures us, loved his wife with a sincere affection, officiated on the occasion, and pronounced the funeral oration !

The Greek poet Leonidas, having presented to Poppæa a celestial globe, accompanied it with an epigram, so constructed that each distich, if the letters it contains are reckoned as numerals, contains the same sum total. This epigram warrants the supposition that Poppæa, amidst her levity, retained a taste for more serious pursuits—whether literary or philosophic. The very nature of the gift tendered to her, and the use of the word *σοφία*, which might be rendered “literary pursuits,” seem to authorize this supposition. The epigram, see Jacob’s Anthologia, p. 175, vol. ii., in so far as it proves this lady’s regard for accomplished and literary men, and her patronage of them, seems at once to explain and to confirm our author’s declaration, of the many favours bestowed by her upon himself : it is as follows :—

Οὐράνιον μίμημα γερὲθ' ἱακαῖσιν ἐν ὥραις
 Τοῦτ' ἀπὸ Νειλογενοῦς δέξο Λεωνίδεω,
 Ποππαῖα, Διὸς ἐδνι, Σεβαστιάς· εὐαδε γάρ σοι
 Δῶρα, τὰ καὶ λέκτρων ἄξια καὶ σοφίης.

Poppæa, spouse of Jove, Augusti, pray
 Accept from that Leonidas, whose home
 Lies where Nile’s waters toward the ocean roam
 This globe celestial, on thy natal day :—
 Dear are such gifts to thee, and such alone
 As suit thy learning, and thy spousal throne.

Josephus, as well as Leonidas, would find Cæsar's consort favourably disposed toward men of intelligence; and especially to such of this class as came from the remote provinces of the empire, and who on that account might be able to animate her listless hours by describing curious and gorgeous novelties; as well as by their wit and learning. Nor need we hesitate to believe that the munificent lady who is said to have shod her mules with gold, and who entertained always a drove of five hundred she-asses to supply her daily bath with their milk, should have liberally treated the accomplished men that graced her court; or that she should have sent them away, laden "with many substantial testimonies of her regard."

On some occasion, says Dion Cassius, when using her mirror, being dissatisfied with its faithful testimony, she resentfully exclaimed,—“Rather let me die than survive my charms!” Alas, her wish was but too soon accomplished!

Nero dedicated a temple to his “Sabina” (Poppæa), designating her—“Goddess, Venus:” and this was done “in the name of the matrons of Rome.” “Truly so,” adds the historian, for “with the confiscated fortunes of Roman matrons this structure was reared!”

DOMITIAN.—(PAGE 80.)

So brief a notice of a Roman emperor, and his consort, as that which Josephus, in the closing paragraph of his life, introduces of Domitian and Domitia, might scarcely seem to demand observation, as connected with the Jewish writer, or with Jewish affairs. But in fact, more than a little significance attaches to this casual mention of the tyrant, and of his partner, who also became his murderer. This emperor, gross and flagitious as were the vices attributed to him, was no monster, or brute, like Nero; but on the contrary, as indeed his profile indicates, a man of vivid intelligence, as well as of literary taste, and many accomplishments. Now although, in the latter years of his reign especially, which was a “reign of terror,” philosophers and men of learning fled in dismay, and in disguise, beyond the limits of the empire (see PHILOSTRATUS, *Life of Apollonius Tyanæus*, b. vii. c. 4), yet it is natural to suppose that, with a man of cultured mind, and who was personally conversant with those men of education who frequented his court, whatever might be the motives which prompted this persecution of the class, there would be individual exceptions. Some of these distinguished men, it is easy to believe, would be exempted from the tyrant's jealousy. But who would they be; and on what special account would they have been spared and favoured, while others had been treated with the utmost severity? By what means, it is natural to ask, would these few have purchased the smiles that permitted them to live?

Josephus does not seem conscious of any implied disgrace in declaring that he was himself one of a small number—sheltered, honoured, and enriched, by that ruthless despot who had butchered, or had driven into exile, most of his class. That he did not enjoy *alone* this exemption, and these favours, we are told by the writer just above mentioned—Philostratus, who, in the place there referred to, says that there were some, *ἐνίοι*, who did not scruple to profess principles acceptable at a vicious court, and who continued to bask in its sunshine, while their more virtuous comrades were compelled to hide themselves in the deserts of Libya, or the wilds of Scythia, or had found shelter among the Celts of the farthest west! Did then Josephus *thus* signalize himself among the favoured few? He himself tells us that he did not share the misfortunes of the many. Now, as history sheds no direct light on this point, it is allowable to follow a probable conjecture, tending to rescue his personal reputation from an unproved, and hypothetic imputation. The favour he had won from Poppæa, whose literary leisure he had enlivened, would have given him confidence in approaching Domitia, and in thus securing for himself some personal regard at court. But Josephus was ever fertile in resources; nor would he fail to catch at the means of getting himself employed and advanced, rather than strangled, beheaded, or banished. Now a circumstance is incidentally mentioned by Suetonius, which at once aids us in framing what must be admitted to be a probable supposition in his behalf. This writer informs us (Domitian, c. 20) that, notwithstanding the emperor's inexorable hatred of learned men and astrologers, he went to great cost in replacing the books that had been destroyed by the burning of the public libraries; with this view purchasing copies from all quarters, and sending qualified persons to Alexandria, there to obtain, or to provide, such as were needed to reinstate these collections. Josephus does not affirm himself to have been one of those employed on this errand; but even if he did not leave Rome among those who were sent to Egypt, his extensive learning, his familiar acquaintance at once with Grecian, and with Oriental literature, his rare accomplishments, well known as they were at court, must have recommended him, perhaps beyond any man of his time, as competent to the task of superintending, and of directing operations of this kind, and of examining and collating the copies that might be offered to the imperial purchaser. Would he then be slow to proffer his aid on so auspicious an occasion? We cannot think it; nor, on the other hand, can easily imagine that services so valuable would be declined. If then we dare not profess, in this instance, to have exempted the reputation of Josephus from a sinister suspicion, by the means of any positive evidence, we have at least brought it under the shelter of an admissible, and surely not an improbable conjecture. The learned Jew was not slaughtered—was not banished, by the tyrant persecutor of learning, not, we may assume, because he had bought exemption by nefarious compliances; but because he had known how to render himself honestly and honourably serviceable, in the line of his calling! It is, we

say, not improbable—it is a supposition quite in harmony with the character of the man, that he who had once saved himself with Vespasian, by risking a prophecy—“You, sir, will be emperor,” had again saved himself with Domitian, by an expedient far less hazardous, and perfectly consistent, at once with his habits, and with his abilities.

THE HOT BATHS OF TIBERIAS.—(PAGE 41.)

A DEEP depression—far deeper, in fact, than, till of late, had been supposed, runs nearly due south, and at a sharp descent, from the foot of the Lebanon range, including the waters of Merom, the Sea of Galilee, and the bed of the Jordan, to the Dead Sea; and in this sea also terminates a corresponding valley or ravine, which, commencing at the head of the eastern arm of the Red Sea, Bahr Akabah, and running north-east by north, constitutes the torrent course, called Wady el Arabah. Throughout this rugged valley the indications of intense volcanic action, in a remote age, may everywhere be seen, and especially so on the western borders of the Lake of Tiberias (Sea of Galilee) where the perennial and copious rise of several strongly impregnated springs, at a high temperature, sufficiently prove that those interior fires which once convulsed the surface, and found vent in the two craters that are now lakes, are not extinct. Nor does it seem—if we take the testimony of the earliest writers who mention these hot springs—and they are mentioned by a series of writers during two thousand years, either that the subterranean heat has been diminished in the course of ages, or that the waters have lost their medicative properties. Travellers report that where the water first issues from its natural passages it is at a temperature little below the boiling point, and too hot to allow the hand to be held in it more than a few seconds. Patients suffering from constitutional debility, and from rheumatism, have in all times resorted to these Baths, and not without benefit; and for the accommodation of such visitants, buildings of some sort have always been maintained.

The structures exhibited in the engraving are quite modern, having been erected by Ibrahim Pasha, during the period of his occupation of the Syrian provinces (1833); they may be called handsome buildings, at least if compared with similar specimens of Oriental architecture; and within them is found whatever is essential to the convenience of those who annually resort to the Baths. The view here given is taken in a direction nearly north-west by north. The remains of Tiberias—the modern Tubariyeh, are seen skirting the margin of the lake on a gently rising ground at the distance of less than two miles. Beyond this slope rise the hills which surround Magdala; and among them, and at the distance of twelve miles, is seen the peak of Safed, visible from so many points in this part of Galilee, and which

is always and instantly recognised as the "city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid." About half a mile to the southward of the spot whence this view was taken, and therefore nearer to the remains of Tarichæa, are found, in a very ruinous state, the buildings that appear to have been the ancient Baths, and beside which there is a gush of the hot springs, finding its way immediately into the lake.

These hot springs have been described by almost every recent traveller in Palestine; nor would it either consist with our purpose in relation to Josephus, or be of any utility, to cite passages of which few readers of modern travels can need to be reminded. The usual route through Palestine, northward, takes in Tiberias, and of course includes a visit to the adjacent Baths.

The one point for which we have now, and shall very frequently have, to bespeak the reader's attention is this—that whenever—or, with very rare exceptions, whenever our author incidentally mentions any permanent feature of the country, or any object that may still be recognised, his language is exact, and is consistent with his own evidence elsewhere and incidentally given, as well as with the testimony of other ancient writers, and with actual facts, as reported by recent travellers.

The Hot Baths of Tiberias—the Ammaus of the Greek writers, and the Chammath, or Hammath, of the Hebrew—are mentioned in the Talmudic writings frequently; by Josephus, by Pliny, by Ammianus Marcellinus, and by most others of later times who treat of Palestine.* From the passage in the *LIFE*, sect. 16, we should of course infer that the Baths were so near to Tiberias as that, if the "lodging prepared" for John were within the city itself, the daily visits of an invalid to the spot would not be inconvenient; or if they were at the Baths, that he would thence be able easily to hold communication with the citizens, with whose allegiance to Josephus he wished to tamper. And in accordance with this supposition, the Talmudists state that Tiberias and Chammath were very nearly contiguous, or were actually adjoining. In fact, the foundations of the ancient town cover the greater part of the interval between the modern Tubariyeh, and the nearest of the hot springs. In the *ANTIQUITIES*, xviii. 2, 3, Josephus mentions that Herod built a city in the best district of Galilee, and upon the margin of the Lake of Gennesareth, which, in honour of his imperial friend, he named Tiberias; not far from which, he says, "are Hot Springs, at a village called Emmaus" (not the Emmaus of the Evangelical history). In the

* The passages relating to the Hot Baths of Tiberias in the Talmuds, are found in Lightfoote, vol. ii. cap. 74, in Matth. Pliny, Nat. Hist. v. 15, in naming the cities that surround the lake of Gennesareth, mentions, as on its southern margin, Tarichæa, and on the western, Tiberias—aquis calidis salubri. Ammianus Marcellinus must be held to include those which were the most noted of the hot springs of Palestine, in his general affirmation, xiv. 8, that although the country could not boast a navigable river, yet in locis plurimis aque suapte natura calentes emergunt, ad usus aptæ multiplicium medelarum.

WAR, ii. 21, 6, he narrates the same circumstance, as in the LIFE, and in nearly the same terms. Again, iv. 1, 3, he says that "Vespasian, breaking up from Ammaus, where he had encamped, *in front of Tiberias*, advanced to Gamala;" and he subjoins as a note "that the name Ammaus signifies as interpreted, *hot*, for there are there springs of hot water, fraught with healing properties." The remains of this camp of Vespasian in the rear of the hot springs, were, as they believed, traced by Irby and Mangles. (Journal, March 1.)

The view here given of the Hot Baths must be considered as forming one of a series, which will constitute nearly, or with a few intervals only, a Panorama of the Sea of Galilee; exhibiting not only its general aspect, as seen from the hills, but the objects that diversify its margin. Let the reader suppose himself to turn in the opposite direction to that above-mentioned, and to move southward a distance of about two miles, along the shore of the lake, and he will reach the spot whence was taken the view of

TARICHÆA—(PAGE 50;)

WITH THE SOUTHERN EXTREMITY OF THE LAKE OF TIBERIAS, AND THE OPPOSITE HILLS
OF GAULANITIS.

THE two towns, or cities, if they could claim to be so designated—Tiberias and Tarichæa, the feuds and rivalries of which occupy so considerable a space in the personal narrative of Josephus, are situated at the distance of about four-and-a-half miles, on the western margin of the lake; and the latter place, near its southern extremity; Tiberias being close upon the water's edge, and on a slope, which rises but little above the level of the lake, while Tarichæa stands on the brow of a hill, overlooking it, throughout its extent.

No difficulty can be thought to attach to the identification of these sites, indicated as they are by the remains of the two towns, with their fortifications, as well as by their mutual bearing, and the relation of each to the Hot Springs. Besides, the traditional preservation of the Greek name of the one, vouches for both; Tiberias having become the Arabic, Tubariyeh. Tarichæa has been less often visited and described than its rival. Captains Irby and Mangles thus mention it:—

"March 10th.—In the forenoon we left Tiberias, and observed, in following the borders of the lake, one of the circular towers, with part of the wall of the ancient town, on that side. We left the Hot Baths about noon. Drawing toward the southern extremity of the lake, we saw, on our right, at the foot of the hills, an extensive aqueduct; at the entrance are traces of the walls of Tarichæa, which appears to have been situated on two eminences, one on the right hand of our road, and the other bordering on the lower end of the lake, by the Jordan; this rather appears to have been

artificially surrounded by water on the other sides." (*Journal of Travels*, chap. vi.)

Tarichæa is believed to have received its name, as its etymology indicates, from its having been the corning station for the once flourishing fisheries of this fecund water; on the bosom of which fleets of boats gave employment to the dense population that was then crowded around its shores.

A circumstance worthy of a passing notice is presented by the relative position of the two towns, Tiberias and Tarichæa:—the former scarcely raised, as we have said, above the water-level; the latter overlooking the lake advantageously. This position rendered the place, when moderately fortified, a far more secure asylum than Tiberias could be; and accordingly it had become the residence of those persons of rank, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the neighbouring authorities, especially to Agrippa, or to the Roman governors. In describing the mode in which, on one occasion, he effected the escape of some noble persons, from the fanatical fury of the people, Josephus, *sect. xxxi.*, says that he led them from the house they occupied to the water's edge, through a trench or fosse; this must of course have been a passage already in existence, and formed for the very purpose of facilitating such escapes. Now, situated as we find Tarichæa to have been, the formation of a subterraneous passage from the court-yard of a house, within the walls, to the lake, could not be very difficult, and much less so than in the case of Tiberias; and in a country so unsettled it must have been a very desirable appendage to a residence. So far the facts consist well. But again; in the following section our author describes a stratagem by means of which he succeeded in frightening the people of Tiberias into submission to his authority;—his device being that of mooring a fleet of empty vessels at a short distance from the shore, and opposite to the town, the low position of Tiberias favouring such an artifice: but had the narrative affirmed a similar fact, as relating to Tarichæa, an apparent contradiction would have presented itself, inasmuch as the people of this place might easily, from the brow of their hill, and still more so from their walls and the roofs of their towers, have detected at once the hollow trick.

Tarichæa, soon after the time to which the personal narrative relates, became the scene of a needless slaughter of the Jews, which stains the reputation of Vespasian, and of Titus, *WAR, iii. 10, 10.* It is mentioned by Suetonius, (*Titus, iv.*) along with Gamala, which he designates as—*urbes validissimas Judææ.* A place of some strength, as well as extent, it must have been at the time of the Roman conquests in Syria, inasmuch as thirty thousand Jews had taken refuge within its walls when it was besieged and taken by Cassius, and whom he reduced to slavery. *ANTIQ. xiv. 7, 3.*

Intervening between the southern end of the lake, and the Carmel range, due west, there are three distinguishable basins or valleys, encircled by hills of moderate elevation. In the middlemost of these, and at about half the distance between the western shores of the lake and the sea coast, is—

SEPPHORIS—(Page 74,)

THE ANCIENT DIOCESAREA.

ALTHOUGH it be true that the general aspect of Palestine is dreary, it is much less so toward the north, that is to say, throughout Galilee, than in the hilly region of Judæa. The vale, El Büttauf, as seen from the heights above Nazareth, and on the south-western edge of which Sefürieh—Sepphoris stands, has an aspect of picturesque beauty, and it has been described in glowing terms by some modern travellers. Professor Robinson, whose sober tone consists so well with his scientific exactness, says, while describing the panoramic view of which the Plate represents a section only :—“After breakfast I walked out alone to the top of the hill over Nazareth, where stands the neglected Wely of Neby, Isma’il. Here” (and it seems to have been a spot a little above that from which the drawing was taken by Mr. Tipping) “quite unexpectedly, a glorious prospect opened on the view. The air was perfectly clear and serene; and I shall never forget the impression I received, as the enchanting panorama burst suddenly upon me.

... Below, on the north,” (as seen in the Plate,) “was spread out another of the beautiful plains of northern Palestine, called El-Büttauf; it runs from east to west, and its waters are drained off westward, through a narrower valley, to the Kishon (el-Mükutta) at the base of Carmel. On the southern border of this plain, the eye rested on a large village near the foot of an isolated hill, with a ruined castle on the top; this was Sefürieh, the ancient Sepphoris, or Diocæsarea. Beyond the plain el-Büttauf” (which stretches from side to side as a dark surface beyond the castellated hill) “long ridges, running from east to west rise, one higher than another, until the mountains of Safed overtop them all, on which that place is seen” (in the Plate the extreme distance nearly over the castle on the hill), “a city set upon a hill.” Further towards the right is a sea of hills and mountains, backed by the higher ones beyond the lake of Tiberias; and in the north-east by the majestic Hermon with its icy crown.” Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 190.

In order to obtain a nearer and more distinct view of the hill, the village and the castle, which were his specific objects, Mr. Tipping descended, as it seems, from the brow of the hill whence Dr. Robinson commanded so wide a prospect. In the engraving, therefore, the loftier mountains beyond the lake appear, to the right, to be on a level with the nearer ranges. The distance across this plain, reckoned from the ridge which divides it from Nazareth, to the foot of the opposite heights, varies from twelve to fifteen miles. On the extreme right, and in front of an insulated hill, lies the village, Kana el-Jelil, believed to be the Cana of the Evangelic history; and this valley, undoubtedly, is one of those districts that was the most frequently traversed by Christ in his journeyings to and fro with his

disciples; and upon this range of hills his eye must often have rested during those years in which "he abode with his parents" at Nazareth.

Sepphoris was the principal city of this part of Galilee, and was surrounded with numerous and populous villages. It is easy to understand that its commanding position—easily fortified, and on the skirts of a very fertile plain, rich at that time in every sort of produce, would give it a decided advantage, as compared with most other spots. This advantage, so important in unsettled times, had in fact secured to it, notwithstanding frequent assaults and overthrows, a sort of metropolitan supremacy, from an early period of Jewish history, and down to the period of the Crusades. To confine ourselves, however, to our proper task, we must note the accordance of our author's references to this place with what now appears, as to its position and natural advantages.

In the *LIFE*, which is now in the reader's hand, Sepphoris is frequently mentioned. In Sect. ix. its having been constituted by the Romans the metropolitan city of Galilee, in the place of Tiberias, which, with Tarichæa, had been appended to the domains of Agrippa, is mentioned. In consequence of this arrangement the people of Sepphoris, feeling themselves to be in a position which would enable them to maintain their allegiance, and to repel the assaults of the brigand bands, and of the revolted Galilean cities, declared their determination to adhere to "Cæsar," in which wise purpose they persevered, Sect. xxii.; and *WAR*, ii. 18, 11; nevertheless availing themselves of the aid of Josephus to fortify still further their city, Sect. xxxvii. *WAR*, ii. 20, 6, he says he left them to fortify their city, wealthy as they were. In the Section lxxii., to which the engraving is attached, we are told that the Sepphorites, confiding in the strength of their walls (as thus re-edified) attempted to make good their resistance to the Galilean insurrectionists. Josephus, however, as he says, carried the (lower) town, compelling the people to take refuge in "the citadel"—no doubt the capacious fort on the summit of the hill, where the modern castle now stands. On a second occasion (Sect. lxxi.) he made himself master of a part of the town by a nocturnal assault, from which, however, he was forced to retire; and in his retreat was encountered, in the plain (which in the view is seen stretching beyond the town) by a body of Roman cavalry, where he was defeated. His entrenchment previously had been at the distance of about twenty furlongs from the town, and probably was formed upon the rugged ground which bounds the plain towards the south, and which has already been referred to. The manner in which this place is mentioned elsewhere by Josephus is consistent with what has been stated above, as will appear when the passages present themselves.

THE VAULTED HALLS AND PASSAGES,

BENEATH THE MOSQUE EL AKSA.

(THE Plates illustrating this article are the following :—1. The Entrance to the Vaults, and which is the upright subject, attached to Part I. 2. The Vaulted Passage, as seen from a spot near its northern extremity, and looking toward the Entrance Hall and Window. 3. The Entrance Hall as seen from a position beneath the window, and looking obliquely north. 4. The same Hall or Chamber seen in a direction nearly opposite to the last. 5. The exterior Entablature and Window, as seen beyond the eastern wall of the Turkish buildings. 6. An Outline, exhibiting the double archway as it would appear if these buildings were removed, and therefore combining the above-named Plates, 1, and 5. The last of these Plates, 7, presents a Plan and Elevation of these substructures, as laid down from measurements, taken by Mr. Tipping. Beside the above-mentioned Plates, several others, bearing upon the same general subject—the site and construction of the ancient Temple, will find a place in subsequent Parts.)

The inquiries upon which we now enter, are, it will be granted, of substantial importance, bearing as they do upon the principal, and at the same time the most difficult points of Israelitish archæology ; and tending, not merely to elucidate and confirm the narrative of Josephus, but to throw light upon Biblical history—ancient and Evangelic, as well as to place in an advantageous point of view the Jewish monarchy, as to its resources, and the arts and civilization of the people.

If an apology were needed for giving to this subject so prominent a place, and for bestowing upon it copious illustrations, it might be enough to say, that a well-ascertained knowledge of the topography of the ancient Jerusalem is quite indispensable to an intelligent perusal of our author's narrative of the siege and overthrow of the Holy City. Now to obtain, in a satisfactory manner, any such knowledge of the sites of Jerusalem—its walls, its towers, its gates, its Temple, the mass of evidence, both literary and graphic—ancient as well as modern, must be considered, as a whole ; for there is no point supposed to be questionable, that does not stand inseparably connected with every other. The ancient Jerusalem did not, like some cities, loosely cover a vast area :—for a limited space, sharply defined on all sides but one, by the remarkable and unalterable natural features of the surface, was girt about, and marked off into sections, by mural and defensive structures, cyclopean in their dimensions, and such as few cities of the ancient world could boast of. And it is true that Jerusalem, although in the course of three thousand years it has been the scene of almost

innumerable catastrophes, and has been despoiled and trodden under foot by a long series of ruthless foes, nevertheless retains, unmoved from their places, many of its surprising samples of massive masonry ; and it exhibits to the eager eye of modern curiosity unquestionable traces of its early glory, along with indications, not to be mistaken, of the disposition of its parts.

Of these remains, scattered as they are throughout and around the modern city, the site of the Jewish Temple—the Haram enclosure, is, not only topographically, but argumentatively, the centre. It is to the remains of antiquity there discoverable that we should first direct our attention ; for they, of all, are the least questionable, the most complete, and in the best preservation ; and they are such that, if correctly interpreted, they will enable us to decipher, with comparative ease and certainty, what else might defy all our endeavours to assign to it its meaning.

But then, in directing our attention to the Haram enclosure—the Temple site, there is again a nucleus amid these vast remains, which, if it be opened successfully, will render our after course easy. This nucleus of the Haram, and also of the ancient Holy City—this starting point of Jewish archæology, is the substructure that sustains the southern end of the level space, now occupied by the Mosques, and once by the Temple. The language of Josephus, in several passages hereafter to be adduced, although till of late the import of his expressions was not well understood, implies that there were extensive vaults and passages beneath the courts of the Temple ; and it suggests also the belief that subterraneous communications connected the Temple with Zion, and also with the lower city. The same fact, we must think, is conveyed in the expressions employed by Tacitus, presently to be cited, when speaking of the Jewish Temple. The writers of the middle ages intimate, more or less clearly, a rumoured knowledge of these substructures ; and in modern times several Frank travellers obtained a glimpse of them. In 1833 Mr. Catherwood's fortunate intrepidity, completely beguiling, as it did, Moslem jealousy, enabled him to survey at his leisure the whole of the upper area of the Haram, with the surrounding porticoes and the Mosques ; and he had access also to the subterranean structures, *on one side*, that is the *eastern* side of the great quadrangle. It was however believed that, as a second attempt of the same kind could not be risked, all further access to these vaults was impracticable. In a wistful tone the distinguished German traveller Schubert, thus refers to them : he visited Jerusalem in 1837.

“ We also heard, as did Morris (Summer Ramble in Syria) of these vaults under the Temple hill, which are supported on thousands of columns ; and also of the reservoirs for water which are in connexion with them ; especially of the wells situated between the mosques of Omar and Aksa, from which living water flows ; and of a subterranean Jerusalem, the central point of which was certainly under the Temple hill. As to this subterranean Jerusalem, of which ancient authors make mention, its passages coming to a centre, as we have said, beneath the Temple, were extended,

probably, under the town in all directions, and even beyond the limits of the walls. These substructures were not wholly unknown in later ages ; although for the most part they remained closed up beneath the accumulated rubbish and ruins. The petty jealousy of the Turks has now rendered it impracticable for scientific investigation to penetrate into these secrets of the deep."

In another place, when speaking of the Tower of David (the Hippicus,) Schubert says :—"But that part of the Tower of David which rises above the surface could interest us much less than would have done those substructures—vaults and passages, of which we received various intimations." *Reize in Das Morgenland*, Vol. II. pp. 562 and 577.

In the year 1842, when, with a view to obtain pictorial illustrations for this work, Mr. Tipping undertook to explore the antiquities of Jerusalem, as well as of Palestine at large, these substructures were not forgotten. The circumstances that attended the very successful examination which he made of them will be best narrated in his own words: a portion of a letter conveying these facts is here subjoined. It should however be said, in explanation of the claim which Mr. Tipping advances in his own behalf, and that of his friend Mr. Wolcott, to the merit of discoverers, that, during the period which intervened between their first gaining access to the vaults, and the final stoppage of the breach in the wall through which they had passed, some other persons who had got intimation of the facts, entered also, and hastily examined the interior—the vaults and passages, of which they may have made some reports.

"And now as to this vault, or rather this southern entrance to the Temple, let me endeavour to give you something like an idea of what it is, and where it is, coupled with the circumstances which led to its discovery. You will see on referring to Catherwood's plan (Plan of Jerusalem, as given in the Biblical Researches) that the city wall starts off at a right angle from about the centre of the façade of the mosque El Aksa ; or rather from a ruinous moslem excrescence, built up against, and consequently projecting from it ; and that, up to the point where the side wall of this addition makes an angle with the mosque, the Haram wall is the city wall.

"I had, in my frequent perambulations about the Haram enclosure, noticed the half of an arch—very similar in style and architectural enrichment to the Golden Gate:—immediately beneath this arch is a small grated window, evidently put there when the archway was built up. As you may suppose, it immediately occurred to my friend Wolcott and myself that this window would be worth climbing up to ; and I accordingly made one or two visits to the spot for the purpose, but which proved fruitless, owing to there being some Siloam peasant in the vicinity, or what was still worse, some of the rascally blacks, entrusted with the police of the Haram, on the wall which, immediately to the east of the mosque, is broken down to a level with the internal area, or garden. I have applied this epithet to these swarthy zealots, as on my subsequently sketching this arch and window.

they obliged me to desist, by pointing their guns and hurling stones at me. Wolcott was more fortunate, and after giving me a glowing account of what he had seen, forthwith took me to the window. Whilst I was holding to the bars, a sinister-looking fellow from Siloam came up, and began grumbling about 'holy places' and 'Gaiours,' unsheathing his yatagan. Wolcott immediately asked him his name, writing in his pocket-book, and staring him in the face! The fellow, appalled by this magic, skulked off.

"The next point was to effect a clandestine entrance; and as there was no possible means of access from outside the city wall, we took an early opportunity of going down to the arch spring-stones (indicated in the view of El Aksa from the brow of Zion), and thence turning the south-west corner of the Haram, stole under the lofty wall, which is here pierced with windows (see the same Plate) in the upper part, to the entrance of the projecting out-buildings above mentioned. This however led into a large, dark, vaulted chamber, with no further communication. On our return, somewhat disappointed, we met at the corner a deaf and dumb lad, who, evidently suspecting our object, invited us by signs to return with him into this dark chamber; and led us to a small break in the wall, which, owing to the darkness, could not have been noticed by any one unaware of its existence. On squeezing through this hole, we found ourselves in a somewhat smaller chamber, opening directly into the noble vault which we had seen through the window. The effect was in the highest degree picturesque and solemnly imposing. Instead of attempting here to describe it, I will refer you to the drawing made from this spot (the plate entitled "Entrance to the Vault beneath the Mosque El Aksa"). The whole mystery was now clear. We had before us an ancient double-arched gateway, entirely, or almost entirely, hid by the Arab addition, built up against the ancient wall. I say almost entirely hid, for I must except that portion of the entablature over the window, which had first caught my eye. This Arab excrescence, externally resembling a tower, and which Robinson mistakes for a gate, is divided into three chambers, through the largest of which we had made our entrance:—the second into which we passed, thanks to the breach in the wall; and the third, of inconsiderable dimensions, which covers the massive ancient division of the gateway. I have sent you a sketch of the western extremity of the ornamental frieze-work, projecting into the first of these three chambers.

"Having once effected an entrance, I of course paid frequent visits to the crypts—taking the precaution always of pocketing my shoes, in order to tread as noiselessly as possible, and also of going well armed. Thus prepared, I made, as you are aware, the several drawings which are in your possession; and effected also with the aid of an assistant, and by employing several hours for the purpose, a thorough examination of every part of these subterranean structures, as well as careful measurements of the proportions. I will give the results in as few words as possible. This double gateway runs the whole length beneath the mosque El Aksa, and consists

of a square, or rather quadrangular entrance hall, the four flattishly-vaulted groined roofs of which are supported by a central monolith of white stone, with a capital bearing traces of a perpendicular palm-leaf ornament; certainly not Corinthian, or any other of the five classical orders. From this Hall sprang originally (for one is now walled up) two sets of steps, leading up to the long passage, divided by a row of square columns of three or four stones each, corresponding with the divisions of the gateway, and the monolith. Of this double stair, the side to the east, and in a line with the now built up arch where the window is situated, is walled up: and at the opposite, or northern extremity of this side is a modern gate, which opens by some fourteen steps into the Haram enclosure. The other, or west exit, at this end is walled up. I should say the north end of the vault is about seven feet below the Haram level, and that the passage has a fall of three feet to the stairs, which raise it nearly six feet above the level of the Entrance Hall.

“And now a word as to the very important question of date, which, though at first it perplexed me greatly, I think may almost with certainty be set at rest. The external entablature and the two Corinthian columns, one on each side of the broad division of the archway, tally completely with the Golden Gate (on the eastern side of the Haram). They are slighter than the rest, and are evidently *stuck on*; in a word they are—one should say—Hadrianic, or even of still later date. They appear as an ornamental coating of the ancient masonry. The groined roof of the Hall is Roman in style, of excellent workmanship, and bearing altogether a finer stamp than the entablature: might we not safely attribute it to Herod? The broad division between the arches consists of bevelled stones of cyclopean dimensions. The sides of the long passage are also built of huge roughly-bevelled stones; but the walls of the Hall are apparently plain and Roman, though of great size. This seeming anomaly perplexed me for a long time: but at length, and while examining these side walls closely, I ascertained by visible traces *that it had been bevelled*; but that, in order to construct side pilasters, corresponding with the central pillar, and bearing the two arches springing from it, the bevelling (the upper surface of the stone) *had been chiselled away*, thus affording a slight relief to the pilaster. This you will admit to be the crowning discovery, inasmuch as it furnishes incontestible evidence of a third epoch in the structure, and of a far ulterior antiquity. Is there room possibly for more than one conclusion as to the original, or most ancient masonry—considering under what circumstances of national decay the second Temple was built? Do not these vaults and passages, as to their interior structure, belong to the age of Solomon?

“I may mention that a Mihrab, under the window in the Hall, with a few tattered mats spread before it, seem to indicate that the faithful occasionally resort thither for prayer. And indeed, notwithstanding the neglected look of the place, and its sepulchral aspect, there is about it a subdued mellow harmony, and a ‘dignity in adversity,’ which sits well upon the last vestige of Moriah’s glory.

" I had good reason to value my precaution against the creaking of my shoe-soles, for I had twice to fly to my secret exit, like a rabbit to its hole. At the conclusion of my labours I took a farewell look at the vault, in company with a young French doctor, who was attending professionally upon the principal Mollah at the time. A few days afterwards his patient began comparing the present rule of the Porte, with the previous one of Ibrahim, and declared that now, a Gaiour would not so much as be permitted to look in at the Haram, and the sacred Kubbet, through the outermost portal; upon which the doctor could not resist the pleasure of telling him that Franks were daily prowling in the vaults under El Aksa! The electrified priest bounded from his divan; and I heard that some member of the 'mission,' wishing to visit these vaults a day or two later, found that the mason had been there before him!" . . .

As to the historical inference drawn by Mr. Tipping from the facts ascertained by him, it is too weighty in itself, and in the consequences it contains, to be admitted apart from a strictly conducted scrutiny of all the evidence bearing upon the question. All we shall now attempt will be, with as much clearness and brevity as possible, to furnish the reader with the means requisite for arriving at a satisfactory conclusion.

It must be obvious that, if anywhere within the precincts of the ancient city we may hope to meet with indubitable and undisturbed remains of those structures which were the boast of the bright era of Israelitish history, and the admiration of the ancient world, it must be in those deep recesses of the modern Jerusalem which the very devastations it has so often suffered have served to entomb and conserve. It is also, and the fact is full of significance, over these long-concealed remains that, so far as they might otherwise have been accessible, the stern jealousy of Moslem fanaticism has kept guard, through a long course of ages. This watchful exclusion of Frank and Infidel curiosity—eluded at length—has had the effect, no doubt, of preserving in its actual condition, from age to age, what might, and from various causes must otherwise have sustained injury.

The nether Jerusalem, thus far laid open, will, at the first moment when political changes shall render such explorations possible, invite the eager and intelligent curiosity of Western Christendom; nor can it now be thought improbable that many well-conserved and unquestionable relics of the earliest times, treasured within deep chambers and passages, shall come to light, bringing with them elucidations and confirmations of sacred history the most unlooked for, as well as momentous.

Our part however is, by a proper use of the materials at present in hand, to set the sense of Josephus, in his account of the siege and overthrow of the Holy City, in as clear a light as possible; while at the same time, and without going out of our path, regard is paid to those points of Biblical history which are necessarily involved in this very course of inquiry.

There are few instances (perhaps there is not one altogether equal to it) in which the topography of an ancient city combines so clearly and so inseparably the natural features of the site, and its architectural remains,

as in the instance of Jerusalem. The basement structures of the city, fixed, as Josephus significantly affirms them to have been, "for all time," upon the rock, and that rock itself sharply defined, and marked off by a torrent course on either side, furnish, together, the most ample and indubitable evidences, securing us against extensive error in identifying the ancient, on the site of the modern city: or if any doubt as to the principal and governing facts could have been admitted, the explorations now narrated and described, would seem to exclude any such possible uncertainty.

A Plan of Jerusalem offers to the eye the course of two narrow and steep valleys and watercourses; the one on the right hand making a bend on its way eastward, to the Dead Sea, so as to half encircle the city; that to the left bounding it on the western side, and the two meeting in the ravine which divides the two eminences overlooking the city from the south. At the distance of about a mile, looking at the city from one of these eminences—that to the east, three easily distinguishable heights present themselves. The loftiest of these is the ridge which overhangs the city on its eastern side—the Mount of Olives. Next in elevation, and nearly opposed to it, is Mount Zion, which constitutes a principal part of the modern, as it did of the ancient city: midway between the two, and the lowest of the three, is the elongated ridge, seen from this position in perspective. Broad and flattened toward the north, it reaches an acute termination at a short distance above the point of junction of the two streams just mentioned. Midway upon this ridge—as to north and south—is a spacious quadrangular area enclosed on all sides by a firmly-constructed rampart wall. From this area the foot of the Frank and Infidel is excluded. In the eye of the Moslem world this site is second only to the precincts of worship at Mecca as to sacredness. In the esteem as well of the Jewish people, as of Christian nations, it claims the most peculiar regard, as being, or as embracing beyond doubt, the site of the Jewish Temple—the Temple of Solomon—the Temple of the Restoration—the Temple of Herod—the Temple signalled by the Evangelic history—the Temple overthrown by Titus and his legions.

The proof that, within this area—the space now occupied by the mosques of Omar and El Aksa—is contained the *position* of the Jewish Temple, is ample and conclusive, but need not, in this place, be adduced. What we have now to do is to advance, step by step, toward this centre fact, and thence to pursue such indications as may present themselves, for identifying other remarkable remains of the earliest times of the Jewish polity, and for shedding light upon the earlier and later history of the people.

We shall first direct the reader's attention to the Outline Plate, entitled

EL AKSA AND THE WALL, FROM THE BROW OF ZION.

This sketch was taken from the edge of the eminence which is occupied by the "Jews' quarter," and at an elevation a few feet above that of the top of the Haram wall, opposite. The slope of this hill is covered with an

impervious growth of the prickly pear, rendering any exploration of the ground extremely difficult, if not quite impracticable. Immediately in front is the south-western corner of the great quadrangle—El Haram es Sherif. This Corner, and a portion of the western wall, is shown more in detail in the Outline Plate, “Elevation of the Wall and Spring-stones,” of which we shall presently speak. In the one sketch the eye is above the objects; in the other below them, or on a level with the basement courses of the wall. The shaded wall, extending in perspective to the further angle of the enclosure, is the south front of the Haram, and it is to this especially that our attention is now to be directed. Above the wall, and to the left, are seen the cypress, and other trees that so agreeably decorate the open area of the Haram. The range of buildings—the long roof and the dome, and the minaret, in front, constitute the mosque, El Aksa—once a Church—of which more must hereafter be said.

The ruinous and irregular buildings which abut upon the south wall of the Haram, on a line, north and south, with the mosque, are those Arabic or Turkish buildings that are mentioned by Mr. Tipping in the letter above cited. Near the great wall, and facing west, is a double arch, and a doorway, through which he got entrance into these buildings; toward the left, and as if it were a portion of them, the city wall runs southward, nearly 300 feet, to the point where it turns, at a right angle, westward, enclosing a grassy level space, graced with some shrubs, and a solitary palm. Rising beyond the Haram, and its structures, is the Mount of Olives, with its undulating ridge, crowned, a little to the right of the dome, by the Church of the Ascension. Between this lofty range and the Haram runs, as the reader is aware, the rugged and steep-sided ravine—the valley of Jehoshaphat—through which the “brook Kedron” takes its course. Between the Plan and the Elevation (see the folded Plate) is inserted, on a much smaller scale, a general plan of the great quadrangle of the Haram. Of this enclosure—the precise measurements of which are not now in question—one corner only, namely, the south-western, is a true right angle: each of the other corners diverges, more or less. From the north-east corner the wall, at an inclination turned toward the east, and following the course of the ravine, runs on to meet the city wall at the commencement of its northern curve. The mosque of Omar, its platform, corridors, and rails, occupy the mid-space of the enclosure. Adjoining the southern wall, as already mentioned, is the mosque El Aksa, with its various out-buildings and courts. The long quadrangle enclosed within the plan of this mosque, and shaded, shows the position of the vaults and passages, which are exhibited at large, in the Plan and Elevation. The lines exterior to the south wall indicate the course of the city wall, as just above specified, enclosing an open space or field as well as the Turkish buildings which lean against the Haram wall.

Morely in order to complete the reader's idea of this *southern* portion of the Haram as to its exterior surface, we next direct him to the Outline Plate, “Haram Wall, South-East Corner.” This Plate, to which we shall

presently refer more particularly, was taken from the very edge of that narrow strip of ground which at this place intervenes between the wall and the steep side of the Kedron ravine. The Corner here represented is of course the one that is the most remote in the Outline Plate, "El Aksa and the Wall," &c.; and it corresponds, stone for stone, notch for notch, with the upright Plate—"The Corner, South Front." The same Cyclopean masonry, at the basement, and the same style of irregular and patchwork-superstructure will be noticed as attaching to this Haram wall, on which soever side it is seen; and the same will further appear in several Plates that are to accompany future Parts. These characteristics belong especially to that portion of the western wall near the southern angle, whence jut out the vast spring-stones of an arch, the remains, as we assume, of the ancient viaduct mentioned by Josephus more than once or twice. The

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is the next to claim attention. It is at this point, as is related by Mr. Tipping in his letter, that a distinct idea was first obtained of the vaults and passages beneath the mosque, and it was through the lattices of this window that the entrance chamber was first seen. This portion of an ornamented arch and entablature is shown to be cut off, at a right angle, by the wall of the Arabic building. Here, as is evident, the ruins and rubbish accumulated during ages have raised the ground (the mound on which the priest sits) far above the level of the original basement courses of the wall; not less perhaps than twelve or twenty feet. The outline

DOUBLE ARCHWAY IN THE HARAM WALL, SOUTH,

exhibits, and at one view, what would be seen were the excrescent modern buildings removed. The abutment of these structures upon the original and ancient wall is indicated by the shaded part—and which, on the right hand, cuts the arch, the entablature, and the window, and on the other shows the width of the third of these dark chambers. The middle compartment of this outline is identical, as is obvious, with the upright Plate, "Entrance to the Vault beneath El Aksa." On the left hand, and very dimly visible in the dark chamber that encloses them, is seen the opposite end of the arch and entablature, affixed to the original and massive masonry, just as on the other side. On this left hand side the bevelling of the stones has been better preserved than on the other. The Plate,

ENTRANCE TO THE VAULT BENEATH THE MOSQUE, &c.

shows what was at once seen by Mr. Tipping, on his reaching the second of the three dark chambers of the modern building, abutting upon the Haram wall. The strong light that falls upon the column, proceeds from the latticed window, and throws a shadow obliquely upon the steps, leading to the vaulted passage, on the left hand. Within the dark and remote recess are

visible the piers and arches that support the roof, and at the same time divide the subterraneous way in two, longitudinally. There are eight of these steps, and the rise of the whole is 8 feet 8 inches: they occupy 19 feet. Midway in the course of this flight of steps is the oblong column, 8 feet 7 inches in its longest diameter, 5 feet in the shorter, at which commences the line of piers; and on the opposite side, level with the same column, is a dwarf wall, which closes the right hand passage. The column, or monolith, which is the central and most prominent object in this view, sustains and concentrates the groining of the Entrance Hall; its elliptic arches turning over—north and south, upon the two oblong columns;—east and west, upon the pilasters which have been wrought upon the surface of the more ancient masonry. In the angles of these arches there is just visible the remains of a shell ornament. A flat dome, with a circle of wreathed work running round its base, completes each of the four compartments into which this Hall is thus divided. All this work is in excellent Roman style, and while manifestly of much later date than the Cyclopean work of the walls and piers, is not less evidently more ancient than the Corinthian or Composite columns—one on each side of the mass that divides the Hall at the entrance, and one of which, in dark shadow, is seen foremost in this view. The place of the other is indicated on the Outline Plate, “Double Archway,” &c., near the window. Cutting the capital of this Corinthian column, is seen the arch, which forms a portion of that the ornamented entablature of which appears over the latticed window. The wall on the left of the view is that which divides the second from the first chamber of the Turkish building:—that on the right is the exterior and massive wall of the same, and which appears in shadow on the left of the window.

But in this upright subject, “Entrance,” &c., what is especially to be observed is that portion of an enormous mass of masonry to the right of the Corinthian column, consisting of bevelled stones of great magnitude, and dividing the Hall at the entrance. This mass corresponds precisely, in style and dimensions, with the ancient wall on the left hand, and on the right, although the several courses of stones do not range on a horizontal line. An extensive abrasion of the surface of these stones has taken place about midway up. The front of this mass is on a line with the wall, as seen in the view of the window, and with that of the bevelled stones on the left hand, in the outline; and in fact is all one with the face of the great Haram wall, south. We turn next to the Plate—

VAULTED PASSAGE, BENEATH EL AKSA.

This, as is evident, is a view in the opposite direction to the last, *i.e.* the spectator is looking south, and along the passage on the eastern side; and his position is about 60 feet from the extreme north end of the Passage, where a flight of steps leads up to the area of the Haram. The Plate exhibits, in the distance, one side of the Entrance Hall, illumined by the latticed window,

and showing one of the Corinthian columns, the monolith, the oval column, as well as the top of the dwarf wall, near which a figure stands. The unornamented vaulted roof of this passage is manifestly not homogeneous, or contemporaneous with the Cyclopean sides and piers, against which it rests; or certainly it is not so with the solid side, on the left, or with the square piers that divide the two passages. The upper courses over the piers may not improbably be of the same date and workmanship as the vaulted roof. Each pier consists of six stones, and its side in each dimension is 3 feet 9 inches; its height to the turn of the arch is 12 feet. At a glance it is manifest that this passage exhibits the work of very different and distant periods. There is no congruity—neither fitness nor *fitting*, between the rude and much abraded surfaces of the enormous stones of the side and piers, and the groining and columns, and ornamental finishing which appear in the Entrance Hall. This architectural and chronological incongruity presents itself to the eye in the upright Plate already spoken of—in that of the Vaulted Passage—and still more distinctly in two Plates that are yet to appear; the one exhibiting the Entrance Hall, as seen from a spot beneath the window, and the other the same, as seen in an opposite direction, and showing the window, the Corinthian columns, the middle mass, and the central monolith supporting the roof. Of these Plates more must be said when these, with other connected subjects, are brought forward. The

PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE VAULTS AND PASSAGES

is the next to be referred to. Mr. Tipping, with the aid of a person whom he took with him for the purpose, effected the measurements according to which these were laid down, with all the care that the circumstances admitted. It will be understood that the plan includes the *interior space only*;—the walls not being accessible, except at the south end. The interposed outline is, as has already been mentioned, a general plan only of the great quadrangle, and is introduced merely for the purpose of showing the relative positions of the two mosques, and the situation and proportions of the vaulted passages.

The principal measurements comprised in the Plan and Elevation are the following:—

	Feet.	Inches.
The entire interior length, measured from the centre of the Corinthian columns at the entrance, to the north end, where access is had to the upper area, is	- 260	0
Length of the Entrance Hall, <i>i. e.</i> from the same line as before to the first step, leading to the left hand passage	- 63	0
Width from wall to wall, throughout	- 42	0
Distance between the oblong columns	- 48	2
„ between each, and the central monolith supporting the roof	- 21	0
Diameter of the monolith	- 6	6
Length occupied by the steps	- 19	0
Space between the piers	- 8	10
Each side of the piers	- 3	9

			Feet.	Inches.
Width of entrance between the Corinthian columns	-	-	10	6
Height of the central monolith, including the capital	-	-	21	0
Height of the Piers	-	-	12	0
Height to the top of the arches	-	-	14	0

The arrows upon the Plan indicate the position of the spectator and the direction of view, in each of the Plates that exhibit the interior of the Vaults and Passages. Of these Plates two are yet to appear. The arrow A, indicates the direction of the eye in the upright subject—"Entrance to the Vault," &c. The arrow B, is that shown in the "Vaulted Passage," &c. C and D, two views of the Hall which are to accompany a future PART, and which are essential, as completing the materials on the ground of which a general inference, consistent with all the facts before us, may be drawn. In truth, any such inference ought to be in harmony with whatever tends to throw light upon the difficult question as to the eras to which should be assigned the various and dissimilar structures that present themselves in different quarters of the city.

In no ancient city perhaps—not even in Rome, and not in Athens—are the architectural remains of remote ages so confusedly blended as we find them in Jerusalem; for in very many cases what is unquestionably the work of a later age, Saracenic, Norman, Turkish, takes up and *embeds* the materials of an earlier time; nor are the instances rare in which large masses of materials, exhibiting traces of the arts, the resources, and the wealth of a primeval prosperity, have, as often as three or four times, and at the interval of centuries, been dislodged—have lain long in chaotic ruins; and then, and by rude hands, or in the hurry of distracted times, have been lifted anew into form, and lodged upon their first foundations.

Far from confident that we shall entirely succeed in resolving the more difficult of these chronological problems, we shall hope, at the least, to bring together materials tending to the solution of them; and while we abstain from dogmatism on ground where it is easy to fall into error, shall propound suggestions which others may follow out, and confirm; or may supersede by some better hypothesis.

Leaving therefore, for the present, and until we can enter it again to more advantage, the dim region of the "nether Jerusalem," we return to daylight; and skirting the south front of the Haram, to the corner, and advancing a few steps along the western side of the quadrangle, we reach the ground whence was taken the drawing of the

REMAINS OF AN ARCH,

SPRINGING FROM THE HARAM WALL—WEST.

THE better to understand this subject, the reader should revert to the Outline Plate, already referred to, "El Aksa, and the Wall from the Brow of Zion," in which these vast projecting masses are seen in their relative

positions directly opposite to the eye, and beneath the minaret of the mosque. The several objects exhibited in the two Plates may readily be identified by comparing the two : the buildings on the extreme left, in the outline, being the same as those seen in front (over the group of figures) in the finished Plate. The wooden, cage-like projection from the wall is easily recognised in both. Again, in the Outline Plate—"Elevation of the Wall and Spring-stones," a front view is given of the entire Haram wall, at its southern extremity, a portion of which is seen in perspective in the finished Plate. This Elevation was taken from a spot directly opposite to the spring-stones, on a level with the figure near the corner, and at the distance of fifty or sixty feet from the wall. The dome and long roof of the mosque, as seen in the view from the brow of Zion, are, in this, only just visible above the wall; and the minaret (of which the turret is omitted) appears in perspective. At the time when this sketch was taken—early in the year 1842—the masons were at work above; and a pole, and a line hanging over the wall, as well as an awning under the shelter of which they wrought, are seen to the right of the minaret. A heap of stones, some of them connected with old timbers, had accumulated at the foot of the arch, as is seen in the finished Plate. Let it be especially observed that—as appears in the Outline from the Brow of Zion—the arch takes its spring from a level *much below* that of the ground or pavement at the Entrance to the Vaults: the difference can be scarcely less than twenty-five feet. On this western side ruins and rubbish, almost filling what was once a deep ravine, have hidden several courses of the wall, and much diminished its apparent height. At *this* corner it measures little more than fifty feet: at the East corner, a full sixty feet. If therefore this filled-up valley were cleared of its *débris*, there would doubtless be seen the perpendicular surface of the pier from which the arch takes its spring.

The extreme width of the abutting stones is 51 feet. Of these stones, one measures 24 feet 6 inches in length, and several of them exceed five feet in thickness. The surfaces of the arch stones being more exposed to injury than that of the wall, have been much abraded, and have become irregular; nevertheless, when seen in profile, the true line of the arch is clearly apparent; and of this portion, as measured by Dr. Robinson, the *chord* is 12 feet 6 inches, the *sine* 11 feet 10 inches, and the *cosine* 3 feet 10 inches.

The view presented in the finished Plate was taken from a spot nearly opposite to the figure in the Outline Elevation, and a few yards only in advance from the wall. The sun at high noon (February) slants upon the surface of the wall, illuminates strongly the upper surfaces and sides of the abutting stones, and thus gives the strongest relief to the impending mass. The group of figures consists of a Jewish youth of Jerusalem, who is exhibiting these Remains of Israelitish power to two Polish Jews, in the costume of their race and country.

The four courses of stones on the right hand, and which are of great dimensions, present bevelled joinings, although the raised surface has been

almost worn away ; and thus they claim alliance with those on either side of the Double Archway—with those within the vaults, and with others in different quarters of the city, as well as with ancient structures at Hebron and elsewhere ;—indeed wherever the masonry of the earliest era of the Israelitish monarchy may, on a fair ground of probability, be assumed to be exhibited in existing Remains. To such Remains, collected from different quarters, it will be our part to direct the attention of the reader from time to time, as the work proceeds. At present we take nothing for granted on the ground of incomplete evidence.

Previously to the destruction of the City and Temple by Titus, and the overthrow of the vast materials of the latter, on all sides, and especially on the western side, a deep valley—steep on either hand, and resembling, if not equal in depth to, that on the eastern side—the valley of Jehoshaphat—took its winding course from the north-west quarter of the city, and skirting the Temple enclosure, ran south by the ridge of Ophel, till it met the above-named valley at Siloam. Through this depression, called the Tyropoeon, or market of Cheesemakers, (if indeed the import of the name has not been misunderstood) a main part of the traffic of the ancient city took its course, along a street, or streets, the buildings of which did not, as it seems, reach the level of the basement of the Temple enclosure. The lofty summit of Zion, commanding as it did the surrounding country—the other quarters of the city, and the Temple precincts also—and inferior only in elevation to the ridge of the Mount of Olives, and more securely fortified than any other quarter, was occupied by the most considerable of the palaces and the sumptuous residences of Jerusalem. To facilitate the access of princes, of public persons, and of the opulent residents of Zion, to the Temple, a viaduct had, *at a very early period*, been thrown across this deep valley—the Tyropoeon—and at such a mean elevation as should neither intercept the public traffic through the depth below, nor occasion inconvenience by too steep a flight of steps in passing on to it from Zion, and in entering upon the paved courts of the sacred structure. It will appear that the level of the roadway of this viaduct would be nearly the same as that of the egress from the vaulted Passage, beneath the mosque, at its northern extremity.

That we do not err in assigning the name, Tyropoeon, as used by Josephus, to the depression running down on the western side of the Haram, seems certain when the description which he gives of this valley (WAR, V. 4,) is duly considered. He there says that the Tyropoeon, after dividing the upper from the lower city, went on as far as to the sweet and copious spring called Siloam. Now it is precisely at the point where this fountain—undoubtedly the ancient Siloam—occurs, that the two valleys, converging and reducing Ophel to a narrow ridge, actually meet. Siloam was the termination of the Tyropoeon, according to Josephus ; and the valley here coming to its exit is the one which runs up between the Haram, on the western side, and Zion. The only supposition that could bring this conclusion into question would be one embracing, or founded upon, the now exploded

hypothesis of Dr. Clarke, and which itself consists with nothing, either natural or architectural, belonging to the site of the ancient city.

The allusions made by Josephus to the viaduct, or bridge—*γέφυρα*, as he calls it, connecting the Temple with Zion, are brief, yet natural, consistent, and definite:—they are just such as abound in his writings, so many of which may *now* be shown to be perfectly correct:—they are such as constitute the acknowledged characteristics of contemporaneous and genuine records. So far as the historic reputation of this writer may seem to need support, the present instance is a signal one, tending to sustain it; inasmuch as the very existence of this viaduct is a fact resting upon his sole testimony—a fact the confirmation of which has waited the lapse of nearly eighteen centuries. We find indeed the “Pons Sion” inserted on the authority of Josephus, in some ancient maps of Jerusalem—that of Adricomius especially; but it is put in a wrong place, and in a wrong direction. It is only of late that either the bridge, as mentioned by Josephus, or the protruding mass now before us, has engaged any distinct attention.

These Remains caught the eye of Dr. Robinson, and the important suggestions which they involve gave rise to a scrutiny of the spot from which he himself, at the time, and others who since then have taken up the clue, have deduced an inference which seems scarcely open to question.

In the *ANTIQUITIES*, XIV. 4, 2, and the parallel place in the *WAR*, I. 7, 2, while narrating the circumstances of Pompey’s assault upon the city and temple, Josephus names the bridge, connecting the latter with the former, and mentions its direction; and yet not in such a manner as to determine its position with any certainty. But a passage of a very graphic kind, occurring in the *WAR*, II. 16, 3, brings before us what is more available and distinct. It is there said that Agrippa, wishing to harangue the Jews, and to bring them to reason, collected them in an open gallery or colonnade, just beneath, and within sight of, the Asamonean palace which occupied the eastern flank of the upper city—Zion; and at a window of which his half sister, Bernice, offered herself to the gaze of the multitude. This gallery, or colonnade, adjoined, he says, the bridge, connecting it with the Temple: its position therefore is hence determined as bestriding the Tyropeon, and necessarily at a part near its southern exit, and not far from the corner of the wall.

The next allusion to this bridge or viaduct, (*WAR*, VI. 6, 2,) is still more distinct; and yet it is quite informal and incidental. Toward the conclusion of the siege, and after the time when Titus had become master of the Temple, wishing if possible to bring the desperate faction which still held the upper city to terms of surrender, he summoned them to a parley—the Jews crowding down upon the Xystus—the colonnades and spaces on the slope of Zion—while the Roman general, surrounded by his staff, occupied the opposite position, on the western side of the Temple walls—the *outer walls*, and upon and about the remaining portion of the bridge, on that side. The narrative supposes, necessarily, that the space intervening between the two

parties—the besiegers, and the besieged, was such as would allow the voice of the Roman general's interpreter to be distinctly heard by the latter. It was such also as to give occasion for the command issued by Titus to his soldiers—not to fling their missiles. Such in fact is the interval which we now measure between the Haram wall, above the spring-stones, (let the reader look to the Outline View from the brow of Zion) and the opposite slope on which the Jews must have assembled, about the Xystus. If we advance only a few yards further up the valley than the point precisely opposite to, and at right angles with, the Remains of the Arch, the interval becomes, at every step, greater, inasmuch as the high ground of Zion rapidly recedes toward the north-west, *from this very spot*. At this spot a level, carried across from these Remains to the opposite flank of Zion, measures about 350 feet; at a point level with the buildings shown in the finished Plate, it would measure nearly 550 feet. Can it be doubted then that this was the site of the viaduct, mentioned by Josephus; and it is just where we should, on grounds of probability, expect to find them, if anywhere, that we discover the huge commencements of an arch:—an arch which, if its curve be calculated with an approximation to the truth, would measure 60 feet, and must have been one of five, sustaining the viaduct (allowing for the abutments on either side) in running from side to side across the Tyropoeon.* The piers, supporting the centre arch of this bridge, must have been of great altitude; not less, perhaps, than a hundred and thirty feet; and the whole structure, when seen from the southern extremity of the Tyropoeon, must have had an aspect of grandeur, especially as connected with the lofty and sumptuous edifices of the Temple, and of Zion, to the right, and to the left.

The bridge—*γέφυρα*, partially demolished as it was during the siege, would afterwards inevitably share the fate of the surrounding structures. Course after course of its piers would be dislodged, and thrown into the valley, until the ruins of the upper portion actually entombed and protected the lower. The part which it would be the least easy to detach from its hold would unquestionably be that which was *built in with the wall*; and it is precisely *this portion* which now presents itself as the sole relic of that mighty work of a bright and prosperous era!

That these Remains should have attracted so little notice during the lapse of ages is not surprising. It is probable that the materials of the overthrown Temple, and its massive walls, would entirely glut the valley, burying deep all these vestiges. But in course of time—and especially as the restored city, the *Ælia Capitolina* of Hadrian, and afterwards the structures of the ecclesiastical period—the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries—made large demands upon all available materials, especially upon such as were nearest at hand—these heaps would disappear, and a clearance be gradually effected, down to the level of the present surface.

But even after such clearances might have removed the weightiest

* The next allusion to the bridge is consistent with the preceding; but it does not supply any additional particulars; it occurs in WAR, VI. 8, 1.

of these materials, there was obstruction enough remaining to preclude, or at least to discourage, the visits of travellers to the spot. The place is difficult of access ;—it is accessible only through narrow and filthy lanes, is hedged in by a luxuriant growth of the prickly pear, and is rendered insufferably offensive by those nuisances which, in almost every instance, are the characteristics of the “Jews’-quarter” of a modern city, and not the least so in Jerusalem. The oblivion of ages has however had its term ; and an instance so signal, so *unique* we may well say, and carrying with it inferences so far-stretching and important, has not failed to attract the attention of every intelligent traveller visiting Jerusalem, within the last five years. To attempt to arbitrate among those who interpret these Remains in very different senses, is far from our purpose. The rule observed throughout this work will be, not to walk into the midst of controversy—not to become the warm champions of this or that archæological hypothesis. That which consists better with the task before us, and with a due regard to the benefit and comfort of the reader of Josephus, is to bring together materials, to point out the bearing of indubitably ascertained facts, upon his testimony, confirming or modifying it, and to furnish contributions, not unimportant in themselves, and ready to the hand of those who may prosecute researches of this sort, or of any who may hereafter attempt the worthy task of giving to the world the history of the race of Abraham, with all the advantage which so great a theme should command.

Among the questions which these Remains, connected with the other substructures of the Haram, suggest, the first and obvious one—as to the grounds on which a high antiquity is assumed as belonging to these works—will be met by some with what they will think a conclusive, or rather an *exclusive* reply—“The arch—a semi-circle, or elliptic curve—as an element of architecture, is not of earlier date than that of certain Roman works extant, the history of which is well known.—If these protruding stones,” it will be said—“are indeed the commencement of an arch—an arch in the modern sense of the word—then, by unavoidable consequence, these structures are not more ancient, even if they can date so far back, as the time of Herod.” But assuredly a reply of this kind involves a begging of the question. On what ground does this assumption rest, that the arch is a modern invention ?—on the negative evidence that it is not to be met with among the remains of remoter times ! But is it not ? prove to us this, and the question is at rest. Even if it be certain, which it is not, that the *Greeks* did not employ, or did not understand the construction of the arch, it is admitted that the Romans did so ; and if it appears that in all the arts they were imitators—if it be certain that their rule was to conquer and to borrow—if that practical energy which rendered them the conquerors and governors of the civilized world turned itself away, with a sort of distaste, from speculative and inventive paths—then must we think it a probable supposition that, when first they constructed an arch of stone on the soil of their Western conquests, both the architect and the mason had

come from the East. And what if it should appear that the early Israelitish monarchy had at its command, not merely wealth, but intelligence, and skill in the arts, surpassing that of the conquerors of their descendants in later times!

This is unquestionable, and with the statement of the fact we suspend for a time our consideration of this subject, That—not now to include those structures which manifestly belong to the Turkish, Crusading, Saracenic, or Ecclesiastical eras—the architectural remains of earlier times exhibit, *at the least*, three periods of construction; the latest of these being that of Hadrian's restoration of the city, as a seat and home of paganism—the *Ælia Capitolina* of the second century. If there be works to which those of Hadrian were *appended*, they must be, at the latest, those of Herod's reign;—or if we trace even still a substratum, sustaining the labours of *his* time—and if these more ancient works are of a kind demanding the resources and the tranquillity of a long and prosperous era, and such as could never have been undertaken or carried forward during centuries of foreign domination, of fiscal exactions, of precarious political existence, and of intestine commotion—then shall we be almost compelled to go back to the remotest times of the monarchy, as to our nearest landing-place.

An inspection of the several Plates already before the reader, and connected with the subject, will at once show that *all* those portions of the Haram wall, and the vaults, on behalf of which a remote antiquity may be claimed, are at a low level—a level well entitling them to the designation, *substructures*—they could be no part of the Temple—the *śāos*, properly speaking—they could not have met the eye of those perambulating the open courts and colonnades of the sacred precincts:—they are *so low* as to make it certain that, when the ruthless and enraged legions set about their willing labours of demolition, the solid materials of the Temple (proper) and of the surrounding courts, and of the upper courses of the exterior walls, must *very soon* have choked whatever lay deep, and must have rendered further demolition impracticable, at that lower level. Our Lord, with his followers, treading a pavement itself far raised above the level of the substructures now in question (and which belonged to the outworks of the sacred enclosure) looked upon the towering and gorgeous buildings around him, and uttered the prediction, so unlikely then to be realised, that not a stone of these buildings should be left standing, one upon another! Such was the prophecy, and such, to the letter, has been its accomplishment!

Of the several architectural Plates, already before the reader, two have as yet been only incidentally referred to. They constitute in fact a pair, exhibiting the two sides of the same angle of the great quadrangular enclosure.

They are the (Outline Plate)

HARAM WALL: SOUTH-EAST CORNER,

and the

HARAM WALL: SOUTH FRONT, EAST CORNER.

The first of these exhibits what is directly opposite as one descends the slope of the Mount of Olives, and comes near to what are called the Tomb of St. James, and the Tomb of Zacharias. The drawing was made from a spot near the wall; that for the second of these Plates was also taken from the adjacent ground—the eye being directed nearly north, and therefore along the course of the valley of Jehoshaphat. The distance consequently embraces a part of the Mount of Olives, and the slope toward Gethsemane. The conical summit of the tomb of Absalom shows itself low down in the right-hand corner, and indicates the depth and abruptness of the ravine through which the Kedron runs.

Inasmuch as the ground falls rapidly away from the wall on the eastern side, it leaves, on that side, and just at the corner, one course more of the massive stones exposed than is seen on the south front. This difference allowed for, the courses may be numbered on the two Plates, commencing from the uppermost of the courses of solid work, and just below the projection or cornice that marks the commencement of what is unquestionably modern. This upper work of restoration may be easily traced and defined on all sides of the Haram; nor does our immediate purpose lead us to inquire to what period precisely it ought to be assigned: it is everywhere marked by many irregularities, and indicates frequent alterations—such as the opening and the closing of spaces for windows, or even doorways. The *material* in this modern and upper part of the wall is of very inferior dimensions, and seems to have been gathered from the rubbish heaps nearest at hand.

Throughout the middle portion of the wall—including eight or nine courses, we cannot but notice two or three circumstances that present themselves at once to the eye;—namely, the large dimensions of the stones, or of many of them, and yet their irregular interlocation;—the admixture of small stones with the large, and the appearance of tenons on several of them, as if they had originally been jointed in to the mortices of other stones. Most of these large stones seem to have been bevelled. But in the lowest courses—we may say the three lowest—and the same appears in the Outline Elevation of the wall and spring-stones—in the Outline of the wall near St. Stephen's Gate, and in other delineations yet to be brought forward—stones are found, measuring some of them nearly thirty feet in length, and of proportionate thickness and depth; and wherever these occur there is also observable far more of regularity than is seen higher up—more of uniform intention—more of the indications of adequate means, and of leisurely construction. We now point out these facts, leaving the inference to be drawn when whatever should affect it has been brought forward.

POMPEY—(PAGE 106.)

It is not with the exploits or personal history of the Triumvir that we have now to do ; but solely with the relation in which he stands to the fate of the Jewish polity and nation at that time. This point of relationship is indeed a very peculiar one ;—we might say, scarcely less so than that which connected the Jews with Titus. Moreover, several circumstances of analogy offer themselves to notice when the events attending the conduct of the two Roman generals in these instances are compared. A period of 132 years intervened between the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, and its utter destruction by Titus. This course of time was that during which the Jewish people, as a nation—located on their own soil—were the tributaries of the Roman empire, and were in the most unequivocal sense dependent upon the pleasure of the foreign authorities for their security and internal order, as well as for the large measure of indulgence under shelter of which they were permitted to adhere to their religious usages and institutions, and were enabled to maintain the public worship in its wonted splendour. During this period, in the mid portion of which the Jewish people were to make over to, and to diffuse among, all families of mankind, the great truths of which they had so long been the depositaries, they were placed under the guardianship of the only power then competent to protect them as a nation, among the nations ; and at the same time enlightened enough to allow them so much indulgence as was indispensable to their integrity as a religious community. It was the Roman triumvir who brought them under this needful tutelage ; but at length, and when the purposes for the sake of which it had been needful, had been fully accomplished—when the Jewish polity, as centering in Jerusalem, had quite finished its destined work, then it was the Roman emperor who broke it up, and thus put an end effectively to a dispensation adapted to the limitations of place and time.

That national resistance which ended in the capture of the city by Pompey, originated, not simply in a struggle for power between two brothers ; but in an effort to rescue the theocracy from foreign interference : this may properly be inferred from the language and behaviour of the Jewish deputation to the Roman general ; and undoubtedly it was a vehement and convulsive effort to save the very same principle—that of the theocracy—which so long afterwards gathered Vespasian's legions around the Holy City. Circumstances of singular forbearance attached to that capture of Jerusalem by Pompey which brought the nation under the yoke, and beneath the shield of Rome ; and the same forbearance marked the behaviour (for a while at least) of Titus, in effecting its destruction. The Jews of later times have not failed to mark the fact, that the star of Pompey's fortunes began to decline from the moment of his sacrilegious

violation of their temple. Be it so; but was he not at that moment acting the part of the saviour of their state; and should not his abstinent behaviour be held to atone, in measure at least, for his impiety? Flushed with successes, he and his legions advanced, with kings at his feet—*per nemora illa odorata, per turis et balsami silvas, Romana circumtulit signa. Arabes, si quid imperaret, præsto fuere.* A check he received in his attempt upon the city, and the three months during which the legions laboured beneath the walls of the Temple might have overcome his clemency; but did not. Hierosolymam defendere tentavere Judæi; verum hanc quoque intravit; et vidit illud grande impiæ gentis arcanum patens, sub aureo uti cælo.—*Florus*, iii. 5, 29. At Cn. Pompeius, says Cicero, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit.—*Pro L. Flacco*, § 28.

That the conqueror should have repressed his curiosity, at such a moment, and in relation to a fane the magnificence and the mysteries of which had in that age attracted the eyes of mankind, could scarcely be expected. He did not repress that natural impulse, and while the priests lay weltering in their blood around the altar—slain in the midst of their ministrations, he drew aside the vail of the sanctuary, gazed upon the dark void, and retired. That he did thus abstain from plundering the Jewish temple is a fact which we may well consider as certain, distinctly affirmed as it is by Josephus, on more than one occasion, and attested as it is so authentically by Cicero—Pompey's contemporary, but assuredly not his flatterer. This may be believed notwithstanding the vague assertion of a writer of a much later time—Dion Cassius, who, in reporting the capture of the city and temple, and in mentioning Pompey's arbitration between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, affirms the contrary, πάντα τὰ χροῖματα διηπάσθη. Josephus, who does not conceal the fact that the sacred treasures were afterwards carried off by Crassus, may, on this account, the more easily be credited in what he reports of the behaviour of Pompey.

This line of conduct is in fact quite in harmony with the character of the triumvir, who was not a Crassus. The simplicity and the independence that marked his personal habits, combined with a magnanimity of temper sustained by the energy of his plebeian origin, without its ferocity, or its rapacity, would render it easy to him to exercise so much self-denial as in this instance he displayed. There was an element of real greatness—if not *all* its elements, in the character of Pompey; and although it might be true that, as compared with certain of his contemporaries he was—*occultior, non melior*, yet did a lofty quality of soul indicate itself whenever political motives, and impulses of an imperative kind, were not present to control it. No such sovereign reasons seem to have prevented his carrying himself toward the prostrate Judæa in the manner that was the most natural to him.

It would not be risking much to say that we discern, in the Head before us, this very order of character:—a plebeian profile indeed it is; but it is that of a man not merely born to rule, but noble in the interior of his

dispositions, and capable of acting, when quite at liberty to do so, in a manner more great and generous than might have been expected, judging him by the ordinary line of his conduct.

The coins of Pompey are not among those the most frequently met with, and a degree of doubtfulness attaches to some that are usually attributed to him. The one from which the Engraving is taken is of small size: the obverse exhibits the two sons of the triumvir—Cneius Magnus, and Sextus.—The legend—*MAGNUS PIUS, IMPERATOR ITERUM*. The description given of his person by Plutarch consists, we think, well enough with this effigy, notwithstanding a supposed difficulty, as to the hair, which he speaks of as turned gently back, while in the coin it seems to fall gently forward. But this coin represents the triumvir in his later—Plutarch's description applies to his earlier years; and so slight a difference in this particular, is easily accounted for. Velleius Paterculus describes his appearance in advanced life; and not in terms which should be thought incompatible with the idea conveyed by the coin. *Forma excellens, non ea, qua flos commendatur ætatis, sed ea dignitate et constantia, quæ in illam conveniens amplitudinem, fortunam quoque ejus, ad ultimum vitæ comitata est diem.*—II. 29.

REMAINS OF A THEATRE NEAR THE LAKE OF GALILEE.—

(PAGE 145.)

The Remains of Herod's sumptuous structures—or we might rather say, as to several of them, the piled-up materials of those structures still extant—at Jerusalem and throughout Palestine, engage the attention of the traveller and antiquary in very frequent instances, and must often employ us in the course of this Work: at present we bring forward one, remarkable in itself, and as to the inferences which it warrants, beside that it confirms in a striking manner the testimony of Josephus, as to the encroachments of heathenism, and its usages upon the borders of Judaism.

The notes of different travellers, when collated for the purpose of identifying particular spots, are not always exempt from some ambiguity, or even perhaps discrepancy: there is however little room for hesitation in affirming that the spot described in the following passage by Capts. Irby and Mangles, is the same as that represented in this Plate.

"We determined," say these gentlemen, "to inspect Om Keis (the ancient Gadara) in the country of the Gadarenes. Leaving Tiberias for this purpose, we advanced along the southern extremity of the Lake, passing Tarichæa, and crossed, first the Jordan, and then its tributary Yarmack (Jarmok) or Hieromax, a very pretty stream. From this point we ascended the mountains by a very steep road, and before sunset arrived at Om Keis. The natives inhabit the ancient sepulchres. The walls of the ancient Gadara are easily discernible; within

them the pavement of the city is still very perfect; and the traces of the chariot wheels are visible on the stones. We found the remains of a row of columns which lined the main street on either side; two Theatres in tolerable preservation are within the walls, and without to the northward is the Necropolis; the sepulchres, which are all underground, are hewn out of the rock. . . .”—*March 4.*

It is presumed that the Remains represented in the Plate are those of one of the theatres above-mentioned, and that the ruins which appear on the slopes, toward the Lake, are those of the ancient Gadara. This city, with the neighbouring Gamala, and Hippos, were the principal cities of Gaulanitis—the country immediately east of the Lake; and they were three of the *ten*, constituting the Decapolis, according to Pliny, and others, Gadara, Hieromiace præfluente, *Nat. Hist.* v. xvi. (xviii.) It is mentioned very frequently by Josephus, who calls it, (*ANTIQ.* xvii. 11, 4,) a Greek town, and it will come under our notice more distinctly hereafter. The entire country eastward of the Jordan, once teeming with a dense population, and crowded with cities, with towns, and with villages, and which must have been of inexhaustible wealth, was chiefly pagan; and accordingly the vast ruins that now bristle the surface of these regions, through an extent of nearly three hundred miles, north and south, and which perplex and amaze the modern traveller, are altogether analogous to those that present themselves in other countries, where the Grecian race, its polytheism and its usages, were dominant;—that is to say, in Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria. Temples, and theatres, and gymnasia, and some of them on the largest scale, and in a style of the greatest magnificence, hem in, as we might say, the narrow home of Judaism; nor indeed were even those restricted precincts respected by the half-pagan Herod. Judæa itself—the Holy City itself—were not exempted from these intrusions of heathenism; and the extent to which the national feeling—just, and deep—the religious patriotism of the Jewish people was outraged by this monarch, would scarcely be credited were not the fact palpably attested by many existing monuments. Yet this is a fact that should never be lost sight of when the national temper and behaviour during that convulsive period are brought into question.

Herod, eager to win for himself the favour of the Cæsars, and ambitious of the wide world's applause, fond too of magnificence, and moreover a builder by his personal tastes, and his genius in this line, was not to be restrained by any considerations—by any motives, either of religion or of polity, from the most ample gratification of his passion for architectural splendour. Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, and the East country, not to mention foreign soils, were crowded with palaces, with strongholds, with temples, and with theatres! Jerusalem herself, while making her boast before the world of the Temple—the royal gift of Herod to his Jewish subjects, was compelled to smother her resentment while a theatre, and, worse still, an amphitheatre, profaned her precincts! Of the amphitheatre constructed by Herod, it may,

in passing, be remarked, that no remains of it should be looked for, inasmuch as structures of *this* sort were not built of enduring materials in the East, until a much later period. They were wooden scaffoldings and stages, reared for the immediate purposes of the games, and were such as must quickly have disappeared when they were no longer kept in repair.

The Greek *theatre*—always to be distinguished, both as to its structure, and as to its purposes, from the Roman *amphitheatre*, was usually, if not invariably, constructed on the slope of a steep and rocky hill, where, at less cost than on a level, the required form could be effected by scooping out the rock. In some instances the semicircular range of seats, with the interior galleries and passages, were formed by simply shaping the native rock. In the instance before us, while the form of the hill has been made available, the seats are constructed of separate slabs and blocks; and the adits are regularly arched, and lined with masonry. In these Remains there will be observed a level space, just in front of the arched adits, running round the theatre, about half-way up, the intention of which was to facilitate the distribution of the crowd in reaching the seats, and to afford a free standing-room to many of the spectators, called by the Greeks, *διαζώμα*, by the Romans, *præcinctio*. The building was roofless; and, in frequent instances, as in this, it was so placed as to command a prospect the most agreeable which the country could afford. The Lake, from this spot, is seen perhaps more advantageously than from any other point around its shores. The elevation here is considerable, and the opposite ranges of country—the hills above Tiberias and Magdala, are more varied in form, as well as more rich in aspect, than the opposite eastern range, which is uniform and sombre.

Very glowing descriptions of the scenery about this Lake may be found on the pages of modern travellers; but those whose tone is the most sober, and whose habits of description are exact and conscientious, use a very different style in this, as in other instances. The expanse of water is not itself such as to impart to the landscape a character of grandeur:—the surrounding hills are of moderate elevation, and their outline, for the most part, is rather tame than abrupt. Nor do any rich forest masses give depth and softness to the effect, or serve to diversify the colouring. Shrubs, such as those which are seen to have crept upon the ruins before us, are the best decorations of the landscape. Desolation—depopulation—neglect—are the characteristics of the scene as it now appears; and these, while they shed a gloom upon the traveller's spirits, and enhance his disappointment, lead him naturally to contrast the present condition of this region, with what it must once have been.

Reflections such as these, whether occurring to the traveller on the spot, or to the reader at home, bring under consideration two distinct, and yet inseparable inquiries; or, we may say, one subject, and a subject far from unimportant in relation to Bible history, while it stands closely connected with the reputation of Josephus, as a trustworthy historian, in a multitude

of instances wherein his testimony has been impeached. A word therefore on this subject, offering itself as it here does to our notice, may be proper.

The wealth or public resources of these regions, and their alleged populousness, have often been brought into controversy, or have furnished grounds for scepticism. Scripture history, as well in its earlier, as in its later eras, supposes the fact of a populousness, existing within the Israelitish territory and around it, such as neither the present aspect of the country, nor its known condition, now during a long course of centuries, seems to render easily credible; or to be accounted for on any statistic or physical principles. But then the incidental statements of several ancient writers, as well as the evidence afforded by Josephus, fully support that belief which a due deference to the Bible demands. Josephus, in places too numerous to cite, (and to cite them is not, on this occasion, requisite,) speaks of very high numbers, drawn up in battle array, or congregated in popular assemblages, or as perishing in civil feuds or insurrections; and yet as if not missed from their places in the nations' muster roll!—numbers, to which no modern country could furnish a parallel, unless it be where a vast commerce—and its attendant manufactures, have drawn men together by millions; and have made them dependent upon distant supplies of food.

Do we then misread our documents; or have we, in some unexplained manner, misunderstood the laws of the social system among ancient nations, as well as the physical powers of the vegetable and animal world at the time? Now it is natural, amid such perplexities, to ask whether existing monuments tend to confirm, or whether they must be held to invalidate the historic evidence bearing upon the question. Until of late—we mean the present century, no such amount of information touching these monuments of antiquity had been brought in, or had been presented to the world, as would have materially affected the reply that should be given to this question. But at the present time all reasonable ground of scepticism—if such there had ever been, is removed by our better knowledge of these countries:—not, let it be observed, not by means of conjectural calculations of what the soil, in the age of its unspent powers, might possibly do; but by palpable proofs of the former existence of a populousness far surpassing what any such calculations might seem to warrant. What then are these proofs? They are of more than one kind; for there is *first* the simpler sort of evidence furnished (and especially in the country east of the Jordan) by the remains of habitations constituting, apparently, towns of small extent, and villages, yet at intervals so small as to astound those who compare them with the best peopled agricultural districts of modern Europe. There is *next*, the frequency, and the vastness of those ruins which indicate the sites of great cities; these remains, thick-set as they are (the narrow limits of the country in question considered), are of a kind that indicates not merely a high degree of refinement among the people, but a boundless command of labour;—in other words—national wealth, affording to rulers an inex-

haustible surplus, available, notwithstanding the constant drainage of war, and the exactions of a foreign domination, for the indulgence of the most inordinate architectural ambition.

Even if it could be supposed that some of these temples and palaces had been reared in solitudes, merely to glut the eyes, and to feed the pride of haughty monarchs, yet must the labour and the cost—the bread of the thousands whose hands reared them, have come from a soil not far remote from these sites:—the wealth therefore was there, and the people must have been there. Or if we were to look at the question from another point of view, the inference will be not less certain.—In passing over districts where now the Bedoween prowl and starve, watching the rare opportunity of plunder and murder, the traveller finds, again and again, as in the instance now before us, the Greek Theatre—the theatre of ample dimensions! *Two* such remains are reported as existing within the walls of the ancient Gadara. These costly buildings, adapted to the reception and entertainment of many thousand spectators, were, as is well known, the means by aid of which monarchs, like Herod—tyrant-benefactors, swayed the million, beguiled popular resentments, and lulled the spirit of resistance:—these theatres, and these amphitheatres, were in fact the strongholds of despotism, serving to quell the people, not in a direct mode by means of their fears; but insidiously, by their voluptuousness and their frivolity.

And yet undoubtedly it would not be in the heart of any thinly peopled district, or in the midst of inconsiderable cities;—it would be only in the centre of a vast population that a despot's motive for such erections, entailing as they did a heavy and perpetual cost, could be of efficient force. The amazement therefore—and it is a reasonable amazement, which is excited when, in the lone places of these now sterile regions, we encounter the remains of theatres, ample in their circuit, gives way, upon reflection, to an important inference, as to what must have been the condition of the country at the time when they were constructed; and this inference is quite in harmony with the entire body of historic evidence bearing upon that former condition of these regions. It is in this manner that we would bring forward pictorial illustrations at once to elucidate, and to sustain the testimony of the historian. Such a use of these materials, even if it might be questionable in single instances, seems fully warranted when the instances are numerous—when they are drawn from independent sources—when they are of very different kinds, and when they all tend to sustain the same general conclusion as to the authenticity of the writings with which we have to do.

VAULTED HALL BENEATH EL AKSA.

THE arrow marked C in the Plan of the Vaults (folded Plate) indicates the position whence the drawing for this Plate was taken ; that is to say, just beneath the latticed window, already described, page xxii. The light therefore which falls upon the single column proceeds from that window. This view of the Entrance Hall, for such it may be called, is, of course, in the same general direction as that of the upright Plate ; but inclining obliquely to the other side ; and it is nearer, by twenty or thirty feet, to the central column. The spectator (in the upright Plate) stands directly opposite to the *left* hand vaulted passage and to the flight of steps ; in this Plate he is opposite to the right hand passage which is walled up, and which is shown in the Plate—Vaulted Passage, &c. The single column—the monolith, indented and excoriated, as if it had sustained violence, gives support, as a centre, to the four elliptic arches that sustain the roof of the Hall : of these arches one springs from the centre toward the massive division of the Gateway, and another in the same line toward the oblong column mid-way in the flight of steps. Laterally, an arch, on either hand, takes on to the pilaster which has been formed, as Mr. Tipping describes it to be, in the ancient wall, by chiselling away the surface of the bevelled stones. These arches, and this groining, will however best be seen in a view of the Hall taken from the position marked D, on the Plan, and which will exhibit more clearly than the one before us, the almost effaced ornamental work of the capital, and of the domes included within the arches. To what age the column and the groining of the roof should be assigned, is a question not resolvable, perhaps, with absolute certainty, and which should at least be postponed until whatever may afford any aid in determining it has been carefully considered. Meantime the several Plates now before the reader give indications, scarcely to be misunderstood, of several eras of construction, extending, as one would suppose, through a long period of time. It may be remarked, however, that the question as to the date of these structures is incidentally affected by the answer that should be given to another, relating to the precise spot on which the emperor Justinian, as reported by Procopius, erected a church, dedicated to the Holy Virgin. It has generally, and too easily, we think, been assumed that the present mosque, El Aksa, is merely a moslem adaptation of *that* church :—that it is *of Christian origin* seems indeed highly probable, if not certain ; but that it is *Justinian's* church is a supposition burdened with serious, if not insuperable difficulties, as we shall hereafter see. At present we merely observe, that, if El Aksa be, in truth, the church built by Justinian, about the middle of the sixth century, then must *this very Hall*—represented in the Plate, which is directly beneath the mosque,

with all the anachronisms of its masonry—date from so late a period as that emperor's reign, inasmuch as Procopius expressly declares that the arched vaults on which the church rested were, at that time, reared from the natural rock, far below. The bevelled stones, therefore, of the sides are, if this supposition could be admitted, Justinian's; and so must be the entire Haram enclosure; for the whole, as to the substructure, is manifestly of one piece. And then it must be asked to whom, or to what age, we should assign the several portions of subsequent masonry—the groined roofs—the “stuck-on” columns—the appended entablatures, and those various patchwork decorations which, hitherto, have always, by all, and without a doubt, been attributed to *Roman* architects? As to the Saracens, and then as to the Crusaders, no ambiguity can attach to the existing remains of *their* several styles of building, now extant throughout Palestine; for nothing is easier than to trace the labours of the successive masters of the Holy Land, by means of their architectural works, retrogressively, from Ibrahim Pasha, up to Godfrey, and then again upwards to the Khalif Omar. To none of these, or to their contemporaries, can be assigned the superadded portions of the Haram walls; and consequently, if these last added and decorative parts are of the *sixth* century (they have always been attributed to the *second*) then the earlier and original parts—the cyclopean masonry beneath—cannot be Justinian's; and if not his, then we are free to consider the whole of the evidence independently of what is stated by Procopius, and to set aside his account as not applicable to this site.

A question of this sort, involving as it does, an appeal to writers of an age long subsequent to that of Josephus, we should certainly avoid, were it possible to do so consistently with a due regard to our author's credit, as an historian, and to our professed object—the elucidation of Jewish antiquities. But when, on the ground of ample and multifarious evidence—evidence palpable and conclusive, we trace to a very remote age certain architectural remains, and when we appeal to these monuments of a nation's greatness, wealth, and intelligence, as proofs, singularly corroborative of what the inspired writers and the Jewish historian affirm, we are bound first to remove from our path—if it can properly be done, any seemingly counter evidence, and which, if it were left unnoticed, might appear to throw a doubt upon the whole train of our reasoning. To the passage in Procopius we now, therefore, and in this distinct manner, refer, engaging to give it, in a proper place, all the attention which it can be thought to deserve.

Meantime we shall ask from the intelligent reader his strict attention while we spread before him, in its detail, a mass of facts, which, various and unconnected as they may seem, constitute a well compacted *whole*, and which, if rightly interpreted, cannot but serve to throw light upon the early history of the Jewish people, and thus to exhibit, in an advantageous manner, the firmness of the ground on which the most momentous principles are known to rest. If indeed there be reason to think that Jewish history

is yet susceptible of new and conclusive confirmations and elucidations, it will be admitted that a result so desirable can be attained in no other mode than by paying close attention to *details of evidence*. It is not by means of broad and philosophic argumentation, carried on irrespectively of facts, that much progress can be made in reaching a position of firmer faith in the certainty of history, whether sacred or profane.

WALL NEAR ST. STEPHEN'S GATE.

THE Plate that has already been described—page xxxii. Haram Wall: South-East Corner, exhibits the southern extremity of the eastern wall. —This Plate shows the northern termination of the same;—that is to say, of the wall which encloses the great quadrangle occupied by the mosques. The northern end of this corner tower will be shown in another Plate. Beyond St. Stephen's Gate the wall is altogether of a different character. Throughout the course of the Haram Wall—east, there runs a narrow and irregular strip of ground, widest about the Golden Gate, and which becomes little more than a ledge at the southern corner. The greater part of this rugged space is used as a Turkish Cemetery: the tombs, constructed apparently from the loose materials that are scattered over the surface, and on the sides of the valley, are seen on the foreground, and in front of the wall. A considerable portion of the wall intervening between the extremities—represented in these two Plates, is of modern construction, or comparatively so; and the same is obviously the case with the uppermost part, and its embrasures, at both extremities. To the portions next beneath, the same characteristics attach, namely, those of a *restoration*, or superstructure upon primaeval foundations, and with ancient materials, irregularly, and often hastily assorted and interposed. Many of the stones at this part are bevelled; and some, constituting the lower courses, are of the largest dimensions, being from twenty to thirty feet in length, five in thickness, and six or seven in depth. The part here represented stands a little in advance of the general line of wall, and it evidently constituted a corner tower, occupying and strengthening the north-eastern angle of the great enclosure.

A view of the Golden Gate, which intervenes between these extremities, together with the one just referred to, of the northern end of this tower, and a general view of the city from the Mount of Olives, will complete the reader's idea of the eastern side of the Haram, and will enable him to form an opinion on the question as to the *oneness* of this great structure, and its high antiquity. The fact will not fail to be noticed, as we proceed, that at whatever point we gain access to the wall constituting the exterior rampart of the Haram, the very same indications present themselves; nor can there be room for more than one historical solution of the question

relating to its date;—the same chronological development leads us always to the same conclusion as to the remote antiquity of these basement structures, on every side.

From the notes made at the time by Mr. Tipping when his drawings were taken, and which convey the impressions made upon his mind while these objects were daily engaging his attention, we here subjoin some extracts, and which in fact will supply the best comment upon the delineations with which they were originally connected: they are *notices of facts*; notices, not such as may be entered in a memorandum book by a traveller who is running through a country at the utmost speed; but they are what a resident—a resident for three or four months, who has his entire time at his command, and whose attention is concentrated upon archæological objects, would be likely to furnish.

“In speaking,” says Mr. Tipping, “of the Jewish antiquities of the Holy City, I confine myself strictly to what is actually existing, and to what fell under my own observation, without reference to the topographical description of Josephus. I may however state that I surveyed the city from every accessible point—commanding a view, and making due allowance for the somewhat superlative style of a native historian, as well as for the circumstances under which he wrote—in all probability his statements of height and distance being the fruit of recollection and conjecture—and also for the loose unscientific style of the age, compared with the exact tape-applying measurements of modern times—making these proper allowances, I found the leading natural features of the city, and the position of the most important points, bearing upon the siege and destruction, comparatively easy to be recognised.

“Commencing our investigations at the North-East corner (the part represented in the Plate now before us) it is important to observe that the imposing mass of masonry which there meets the eye turns the corner, and still retains part of its northern face, clearly showing this to be the limit of the ancient wall. At the north end of this mass you will observe that the old courses are entire, nearly the whole height of the present wall. The east front (of this projection) is 84 feet in length, and from its making an angle to the north, and projecting considerably beyond the wall, on the south side, it is impossible to draw any other conclusion than that it was originally a tower of the fortress; and from its greater strength, and the greater size of the stones employed, it has stood better than other parts of the wall—better than the average. I would direct attention especially to the fact, that the Jews seem to have bestowed more pains upon the corners than upon any other part:—they exhibit greater care of finish, and a better choice of materials; and the ‘chief corner-stones’ are of surpassing magnitude. Many of the stones are of the largest dimensions: the last stone of the lowest course, to the south, I found to be 24 feet in length, 5 feet 8 inches in breadth, and 3 feet 2 inches in depth (from its forming the angle I was able to ascertain the depth).

“Between this tower and the Golden Gate we have 273 feet of wall. Leaving this tower, as already described, and proceeding south, there are four courses of ancient stones, the lowest of which is not more than some six inches above ground. These stones, though smaller and less carefully finished (of the second course the face has not been hewn, so that it projects ten inches beyond the strip of bevel) are decidedly ancient. Those of the uppermost course are set end-ways, and average 4 feet by 3 feet. The three inferior courses are larger, averaging 8 feet in length by 4 or 6 feet. The fourth, or uppermost course, stops about half-way to the gate of Hadrian:—the one next beneath stops two stones further; the first of which is very large—18 feet by 5 feet. The size of this stone says much for the coeval antiquity of these courses, between the tower and gate. In reaching the Golden Gate the ground descends sufficiently to expose two additional courses: the masonry is very irregular here, some stones protruding their unhewn faces nearly two feet beyond the rest. South of the gate these two courses extend some forty feet—very large and regular, and stop at a small Mohammedan door-way, now walled up.—Here stones of the largest class cease; yet the lowest course, though smaller, bears the not-to-be-mistaken stamp of antiquity. At this point the wall makes an angle, projecting two feet. At a part 100 feet further south the ends of eleven columns project, in a row, at regular intervals, and at a height about half-way up the wall. Indeed at this point the number of columnar shafts built in, bears ample evidence of the existence (hereabouts) of the Eastern Portico; and I may state as proof of its splendour, that I noticed here one such shaft of porphyry, and three of verd-antique. At the distance of a few yards before reaching the column which projects some four or five feet over the wall—an object of peculiar awe to the Moslem, it being the seat whence the Prophet is to judge the countless hosts in the valley of Jehoshaphat—are four stones, supporting three others. Leaving Mohammed's seat, the ground descends rapidly toward the south-east corner, and the ancient courses again appear, very large and rude, resembling—except the peculiarity of the bevel—the basements of some of the great Florentine Palaces—the Pitti, for instance. The last sixty feet, constituting with the south corner the most beautifully executed, and the best preserved part of the whole wall, project about six inches (see the Plate—Haram Wall: South-East Corner), perhaps with the intention of giving additional relief and prominence to this pre-eminent corner: that it is not the result of accident, or addition, is certain, the alternate stones being chiselled away, and let in. Up to this slight projection, eight courses are visible, and the descent is so rapid that two more, and the edge of a third, are above ground, making a total of sixteen courses, at this corner.

“Now to pause a moment at this spot, it will be evident from this description of the wall, that, if we could remove some twenty feet of accumulated soil from this east side, we should not fail to discover an unbroken line of foundation stones. The destroying Romans, in pre-

cipitating the upper courses, saved the lower, which were thenceforward effectually protected and concealed. The length (of the eastern wall) from corner to corner, I ascertained to be 1525 feet. The height of the wall, at the south corner, I estimated at fully 70 feet; and the height from the foundation to the bottom of Kedron I found to be 129 feet:—from the Pool of the Virgin, 155 feet.

“A close scrutiny of the masonry of the two sides of this corner shows it to be (allowance being made for the ravages of time and war) of the highest order—immeasurably superior to that rude piling of Cyclopean blocks of Mycenæ or Tyrinthus; indeed, I consider it to be the finest specimen of mural masonry in the world. The joints are close, and the finishing of the bevelling and facing is so clean and fine that, when fresh from the hands of the builder, it must have produced the effect of gigantic *riliévo* panelling. The chief corner-stones are 20 feet long; and the eighth—counting upwards, is estimated at nearly 7 feet in breadth; and here should be noticed (see Plate—South-East Corner) a space left as if for a window in the upper part. The material employed is a fine limestone, and is now clothed with that golden hue which a course of ages produces in southern climes.”

Mr. Tipping continues, from this point, his notices relating to the Haram Wall, and inasmuch as his observations are better understood in a connected form, than they could be if disjointed, and adduced in parcels, we follow the course of them a little further, and proceed, under his guidance, to revisit the southern face of the great quadrangle.

“We now,” he says, “proceed westward. The total length of the south side is 916 feet, and to the first projection (near the centre of the south entrance to the Temple) 545 feet. On the south side, at this corner, fifteen courses are above ground. The eight upper courses do not continue for more than thirty feet, and as the soil rises rapidly, the five lowest tiers are speedily concealed. The eighth course, counting downwards, after extending about sixty feet, is continued by well-finished bevelled stones, but of considerably smaller dimensions. About ninety feet from the corner we come to a walled-up gateway, with a Saracenic arch. Beyond this only two courses, forming the seventh and eighth from the corner, are visible. They proceed somewhat irregularly up to some lofty walled-up circular-arched gateways (apparently of a late Roman epoch). Passing these, the stones increase in size, and are better finished; and only one course is exposed to view. At the west side of the south entrance (see Plate of the Window) they are set end-ways; and measure six feet in height, with a smoothly-finished surface.

“The mass of ancient masonry, forming the division of the double entrance (see the outline Plate of the Double Archway) is of the oldest, as to its style. The stones are very large, and highly finished (a part of them appears in the upright Plate—Entrance to the Vaults, &c.) The walls, whatever the column and roof may be, are apparently coeval with

the external walls; and the monolith—judging from Catherwood's view of the interior of the Golden Gate, is of a very different style and date to the Corinthian columns of Hadrian; which are, I should conclude, similar in size to those that are seen (in the Upright view) flanking the two sides of the massive ancient divisions just mentioned. The column (see Plate—Vaulted Hall) is, as far as I could judge, in one piece, including the capital, and measures 21 feet in height, and 15 feet 8 inches in circumference.

“With the West side of this gateway, which is enclosed in a dark vaulted chamber of Moslem construction, the Jewish bevelled masonry ceases; and up to the South-West corner, we have a fine lofty wall, with a row of windows; and the upper part (see Outline Plate—El Aksa, &c., from the brow of Zion) is of uniform and excellent masonry, similar to what may be seen in the later Roman erections. But at the corner we find again the ancient bevelled masonry—equal to the colossal corner-stones at the other, and already-described angles. Indeed the lowest stone on the west face is the largest anywhere in the wall, measuring fully thirty feet in length. From this corner to the Arch (Spring-Stones) there are four courses, and the bevel may be traced nearly as far as to the first group of houses (as seen in the Plate of the Spring-Stones). Passing on beyond these buildings—northward, we come to the Jews' place of wailing, where occur some of the finest and best preserved specimens of ancient masonry in the Haram Wall. A narrow lane leads through a cluster of humble, one-storied tenements, to an open strip of ground between the ancient masonry and a low dead wall (of this place a careful delineation will be given). At this spot, on a Friday, considerable numbers of the race of Abraham come to bewail their fallen estate—repeating a set form of words:—the contrast between these time-defying blocks, and this abject remnant of the nation, is very striking. Here we find five courses of bevelled stones, and over these four courses of smooth-faced stones, little, if at all, inferior in size. The joints in the lower courses are much worn—I suppose by the burrowings of generations of mourners; for I observed several aged women wailing with their heads completely buried in these perforations. Owing to the continuous mass of houses built up against the west side, it is next to impossible to inspect it any further; but from some glimpses stolen here and there, among the houses, I believe the west side to be the best preserved of the three. A covered bazaar, in a line with the great mosques, has been—judging from the size of the stones—erected with ancient materials. The principal entrance to the Haram, forming the termination to the main street from the citadel, is about equally distant from the place of wailing and the bazaar. I noticed some twisted columns behind the great open door immediately leading into the Haram (a View of which will appear), and which seemed to me to be of a style different from the Arab; but I was not allowed to approach them.”

A mode and style of masonry so peculiar as that which runs round the Haram, giving support to the multifarious work of later ages, and from

which it is instantly and easily distinguished, is found elsewhere, in the Holy City, as well as in other parts of Palestine; but always with attendant circumstances analogous to those that mark its occurrence in the Haram. Of these instances one, belonging to the City Wall, is represented in the Plate next following. Another, and a very signal one, occurs at Hebron, in the great mosque at that place; and another, quite remote, at Gebail—the ancient Byblus. These instances, important as they are in relation to the early history of the Israelitish people, and so pertinent therefore to our immediate object, will be placed before the reader with all requisite specification of particulars.

INTERIOR WALL, NEAR THE DAMASCUS GATE.

THE Damaseus Gate, as will be seen by inspecting any recent and authentic Plan of Jerusalem, occurs at a point in the City Wall, on the north-western side, nearly midway between the sharp angle at the north-east corner, and the extreme western angle, where it embraces the Latin Convent. This Gate, fronting north-west, very nearly, is at the distance—in a direct line, of more than a quarter of a mile from the nearest point of the Haram, *i. e.*—the north-west angle; and stands entirely unconnected with that structure. If therefore the indications it affords are analogous, or are identical, the inference thence deducible is quite independent of any evidence that may attach to the Haram. This Gate is a very massive structure, consisting of a pair of oblong towers, between which a detorted passage gives admission into the City to those arriving from the north. Along the lower portion of these towers a style of masonry resembling, or absolutely the same as that observed in the Haram Wall, presents itself (as shown in a Plate representing the exterior of the Gate). The whole of the upper part, with its embrasures, is manifestly modern.

A quadrangular projection, or half tower, about a hundred yards from the Gate, toward the right hand, exhibits, on its interior side, the motley composition of which we are speaking, and it seems to point to a chronological order of building, the same, precisely, as that which is so decisively indicated on all sides of the Haram; nor will it be easy to admit any supposition as to the date of the one mass of buildings, involving any thing that could not be applied to the other. It is almost an irresistible inference which offers itself while inspecting these structures—remote as they are, one from the other, that their primæval history is the same, and that one course of events, through the lapse of centuries, has left its intelligible indications upon both. Placed side by side, these delineations tell the story of the Holy City, through a long tract of time; whether it be eight-and-twenty

centuries, or less, we do not affirm; but assuredly these enduring symbols must be granted to speak of more than twelve or fifteen.

"The same hypothesis," says Dr. Robinson, "as to the course of the Second Wall, seems to receive further confirmation from a fact which we noticed near the Damascus Gate; and which apparently has not been mentioned by any writer. Every traveller has probably observed the large ancient hewn stones, which lie just in the inside of that gate, towards the east. In looking at these one day, and passing around them, we were surprised to find there a square dark room adjacent to the wall; the sides of which are entirely composed of stones having precisely the character of those still seen at the corners of the temple area—large, bevelled, with the whole surface hewn smooth, and thus exhibiting an earlier and more careful style of architecture than those remaining in the tower of Hippicus. Connected with this room on the west side is a winding staircase, leading to the top of the wall, the sides of which are of the same character. Following out this discovery, we found upon the western side of the gate, though further from it, another room of precisely the same kind, corresponding in all respects to that upon the eastern side; except that it had been much more injured in building the present wall, and is in part broken away. Of these stones, one measured $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high; and another $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by a like height. Some of them are much disintegrated and decayed; but they all seem to be lying in their original places, as if they had never been disturbed or moved from the spot where they were first fitted to each other. The only satisfactory conjecture which I can form respecting these structures is, that they were ancient towers, of a date anterior to the time of Herod, and probably the guard-houses of an ancient gate upon this spot."—*Bib. Res.* i. p. 464.

The structure referred to in this passage can scarcely be any other than that already mentioned—a quadrangular building or tower, corresponding with the two on either side the gate, and at the distance of a few paces toward the west. If so, the Plate now before us represents the exterior of that structure, *as seen within the city wall*: it is the outside of the building, but the *inner front* of the tower. At the bottom of the half archway, on the extreme right, appears *the under side* of a flight of steps, cut off at the third step, and belonging, as it seems, to the ancient, not to the modern portion of the building. The modern work, resting upon the ancient, gives support, with its pointed arches, to the terrace, or foot-way that runs everywhere along the City Walls. The exact bearing of this portion of the wall will be best seen in a Plate representing the interior surface, throughout a considerable extent of it, and which will show the double terrace—the towers, supported on the interior side, by arch over arch, as partially exhibited in the present instance. In the passage above cited, Dr. Robinson mentions "a winding staircase, leading from the dark room to the top of the Wall." Now the square pillar between the low doorway, and the archway to the right, shows on its surface cuttings, manifestly adapted to

receive the centering ends of a flight of steps, of which this was the newel: these therefore undoubtedly are the remains of a winding staircase, corresponding to that in the "dark room," by the gate.

At a first glance, perhaps, it might be imagined that what we see before us in this Plate is—a gateway walled up: but a little attention will be enough to convince us that this is not the fact;—for, in the first place, the obviously modern style of the upper part, as compared with the lower, shows that the arch and superincumbent wall must have been placed upon the abraded stones beneath, after the lapse of centuries; and next, the steps, indicating the existence of a structure which the upper and modern part has superseded, prove the same; and lastly, the occurrence of these same arches on the interior side of each of the towers along the course of the wall, puts beyond doubt the purpose they subserve, as well as their comparatively recent date. What seems clear, thus far, is this—that the Damascus Gate, and the Wall, right and left, to some distance, are restorations of the ancient, or original City Wall. Nor is it easy to resist the belief that this ancient wall—identical as it is in structure and appearance, ought to be assigned to a date, the same, or nearly so, as that of the substructures of the Haram.

Mr. Tipping, in referring to this interior view, says—"The ancient masonry in and about the Damascus Gate is apparently surpassed by none in antiquity. But of this part of the wall Dr. Robinson's description is, as usual, clear and accurate, nor need I enlarge upon it: I may however mention the fact—that small bevelled stones are everywhere to be met with in the modern (relatively modern) walls and houses; these may be either the materials of the ancient structures, or the result of imitation, when, in rebuilding and fortifying the city, in subsequent ages, one ancient stone has been cut up into twenty."

CÆSAREA (THREE PLATES).

1. CÆSAREA: GENERAL VIEW. 2. RUINS UPON THE SITE OF HEROD'S MOLE. 3. A PART OF THE SAME, SEEN FROM THE OTHER SIDE.

WHAT we have before us is in fact that which is so characteristic of the antiquities of Palestine—ruins *of ruins*;—archæological monuments, telling consecutive stories of transient power and splendour, and of long-lasting periods of desolation, intervening. Through centuries of revolution, the Turk, the Norman, the Saracen, the Byzantine Greek, the Roman, the Macedonian, has each, in his time, overthrown the structures of his predecessor, and then has employed his materials; and thus it is that what we have usually

to expound—as best we may, is a sort of chronological enigma. In various instances, what is now a mosque—itself perhaps hastening to its fall—was once a Christian church; and that church had been made to rest upon the foundations, and was constructed with the materials, of a palace or fortress, of the Roman, or even of the Macedonian period.

This sort of intercommingling of structures, holding up to view confusedly, as it does, the epochs of many centuries—just as a fractured speculum exhibits the disjointed parts of a landscape—meets the eye at many points, in Jerusalem, and at Hebron, and along the line of coast, from Gaza to Tripoli, and at Baalbee, and at Sebaste, and at Nabulus; and, in a word, almost everywhere throughout the length and breadth of that land which, during the lapse of almost three thousand years, has been given as a prey to the nations, but has been possessed as a home by none.

At a glance, the three Plates before us tell this story of national vicissitude. In a very remarkable manner, they thus exhibit either the labours, or the materials—overthrown—re-constructed, and again overthrown, of at least three great eras of wealth and power. The General View shows the existing remains of the ancient Cæsarea, and of its Mole, as they occupy a large area upon the mainland, and stretch out some distance to seaward. The Plate (vignette) in which a party of Bedoueen is stripping a murdered man, exhibits the contrary, or northern face of the ruins, at the point where the ancient Mole seems to have joined on to the city wall. The other (vignette) Plate displays the tottering masses that are seen in the General View, midway upon the Mole;—the mass which cuts the horizon sea-line in *this*, being the same as that which, in the vignette Plate, is the remoter ruin, on the right hand. The Promontory on the horizon of the General View, and at the distance of about twelve miles, is the Castellum Perigrinorum, where there are extensive ruins; and beyond this, eight miles further north, is the headland of Carmel.

Remains such as those which mark the site of the ancient Cæsarea—once the glory of Palestine, now the haunt of jackals and wild boars—and from which obtrude the costly materials of a succession of structures, furnish a sort of condensed commentary upon that series of historical evidence which we derive from books. Nothing would be more significant of the mutually corroborative relationship existing between the literary records of past ages, and the substantial monuments of those same times—the ruins of palaces, temples, theatres, harbours—than to collate the one with the other on a spot such as that now in view. These tottering masses, so heterogeneous in their materials, might be described as the archives of four empires, which, on this soil, have, in their turn, blazed in brief splendour, and sunk into darkness. To interpret these records aright—to sort them chronologically, to attach the fragments severally—each to the page of history proper to it, and which it might serve to corroborate and illustrate, would be a task too difficult, perhaps, even if every requisite condition of leisure and personal security could be enjoyed upon the spot; and how impracticable must it be

under the circumstances that at present attend any such labours of exploration in these countries ! The area of the ruins, and the neighbourhood, partially overgrown with long grass and thistles, is thickly peopled by hideous reptiles and wild animals ; beside that it is the haunt of the remorseless Bedoucen. And yet, even at present, the endeavour may not be quite hopeless to extract from these almost inaccessible and confused remains what we are in search of, and that which, wherever it is found, should always be carefully noticed and defined, and carried to the credit of ancient writers ; what we mean is—substantial and unequivocal evidences of the truth and exactness of *written History*. The contributions of this sort to which Josephus may lay claim are large and various ; but perhaps the feeling in some minds may be that the Jewish historian, more than others, needs such support ; we will only say that—if indeed he needs it—he has it.

The neighbourhood, and even districts more remote, must be searched, if we would amass what might serve to attest the correctness of our author's descriptions of Cæsarea, such as it was in his time, that is to say—such as Herod had made it. The vast materials that once covered this site have, in modern times, been resorted to as an inexhaustible quarry, furnishing costly shafts and ready-wrought blocks, plinths, and capitals, for public buildings at Acre, and elsewhere. The late Djezzar Pasha, especially—at the sound of whose name the stoutest hearts throughout Palestine beat in fear, was, in his way, a man of universal genius, and seizing the opportunity afforded him by these vast remains, lying in his vicinity, and within reach of water carriage, he reared gorgeous palaces, fountains, and mosques, at a cheap rate. Thus has the modern Herod snatched from the ancient Herod those columns of granite and porphyry, and those richly sculptured marbles, which the prodigal ignorance of the middle-age builders had embedded in their mural works.

Of this practice of working up the materials of ancient structures, regardless of their intrinsic value, or beauty of workmanship, the walls of the great quadrangle at Jerusalem afford, as we have already observed, many striking exemplifications. The same is to be seen at Baalbec, and elsewhere ; and here again at Cæsarea, such instances meet the eye on every side. The foremost mass, in the upright Plate (RUINS AT CÆSAREA), exhibits this lavish mode of masonry in a conspicuous manner. It would seem probable that the vast mass upheaved from its place, has been thus *levered over* for the very purpose of extracting some rare samples of shafts of veined marble or porphyry that had caught the eye of the depredator. A degree of regularity appears to have been adhered to in the employment of these shafts ; perhaps with a view to the firmness of the structure, and perhaps also with some regard to the appearance of the protruding ends on the face of the building. In this instance the rule seems to have been to lay a course of shafts with intervening small stones, upon which rested two or three courses of square stones. We may believe that one, two, or even three rows of shafts have been extracted from this mass ; while the

superincumbent cubic fragment was swayed, alternately, from side to side, and left to lower itself each time. On this supposition it might perhaps, and at no very remote period, have ranged, as to height, along with the mass which, in the General View, is seen to the left of it, rising above the sea-line.

The removal of materials, and the fall of masses of building, seem to have been going on at a rapid rate of late years. At least so we should suppose while comparing the delineations before us, as well as Mr. Tipping's account of the scene at the time of his visit in 1842, with the very graphic description given of it by Count Forbin, who was there so lately as in 1817. Even after making some abatement on the score of the rather florid style of the French writer, desolation must have become still more desolate during that interval of twenty-five years. The following passage, however, might be supposed, in several of its details, to have been composed for the very purpose of accompanying the Plates now before us:—

“Parti bien avant le jour, je voulais visiter Césarée. Cette ville, dans une position semblable à celle d'Athlit—(the promontory seen on the horizon of the General View, and where are found the extensive ruins of the Castellum Perigrinorum)—est entièrement déserte, et la conservation de ses remparts, de son port, de ses monumens, inspire une surprise indéfinissable. On y trouve des rues, des places; et en rétablissant les portes de ses hautes et terribles murailles, il serait facile d'habiter et défendre encore Césarée. Un événement désastreux semble avoir fait périr ou mis en fuite ses nombreux habitans depuis peu d'années, depuis peu de mois. Les murs de l'église sont empreints de la fumée de l'encens des Chrétiens; on retrouve même jusqu'à la chaire illustrée par des évêques savans et courageux. Les tombes sont ouvertes, et des ossemens attestent seuls le séjour passé de l'homme au milieu de cette solitude effrayante. Le silence qui règne à Césarée, n'est troublé que par le bruit régulier et monotone de la mer: les vagues s'indignent de rencontrer des obstacles inutiles, d'obéir à ceux qui ne sont plus; elles brisent avec furie, elles couvrent d'écume la jetée et les quais du port. Leurs efforts redoublés ont ébranlé des masses énormes de granit; la tour du phare s'est entr'ouverte; l'escalier, les distributions du château restent à découvert, et l'oiseau de proie en fait sa demeure.

“Césarée, que les Arabes nomment *Qeysâryeh*, renferme encore des colonnes superbes, et en grand nombre, dont quelques-unes sont parfaitement entières; plusieurs, dans le moyen âge, furent employées à la construction du môle; cet édifice s'avauçait très-loin dans la mer; les matériaux les plus riches servirent à former sa base. On voit, parmi ces débris, des blocs de granit rose de huit pieds de proportion, qui portent des inscriptions latines; mais elles sont trop frustes pour pouvoir être déchiffrées.”—*Voyage dans le Levant*, p. 77.

All that meets the eye, as represented in the plates before us, and all, or nearly all which Forbin describes, is undoubtedly recent, or comparatively so; partly Saracenic, a part perhaps belonging to the period of the

Crusades ; and much that is attributable to the Turks. This is evident, not merely from the style of so much of these ruins as retains its form and position ; but it may conclusively be inferred from the fact,—mentioned by the French traveller, and shown in the upright Plate—that *low down* in the foundations of these buildings, “the most costly materials” of earlier structures—the shafts of columns of granite, and veined marble—are profusely employed, simply *as material*. The not improbable supposition, that the towering masses on the mole are the remains of the Pharos (of the middle ages) we must not stop to examine ;—indeed, the copious and eventful history of this site, as it may be gleaned from the writers of the intervening centuries, would lead us very far from our proper theme, and must be left untouched. What belongs to our purpose is to direct the reader’s attention to the fact, that a site, the identity of which is rendered unquestionable by the unbroken transmission of the name on the lips of the Arab population from age to age, exhibits proofs, the most striking, of that which history affirms—namely, that this spot has, at several periods, been the scene and centre of national power, and of regal magnificence ;—that times of decay and desolation have intervened between these brighter eras ; and that the earlier of these epochs far surpassed the later in wealth, in taste, in splendour. What else can we infer when we find, for instance, the rarest specimens of porphyry and granite, wrought in the best style, now decorating a façade at Acre, and which have been forced out from their prostrate and ignoble position, at the basement of a crusading castle, of a light-house, or of a church ? Or what, when shafts and blocks of rose-granite which the builders of modern palaces might covet, are beaten by the waves that break over Saracenic walls ?

In a word, Palestine is the country which, more strikingly perhaps than any other, now offers to the eye, in its monuments, the great epochs of history, and exhibits, more than any, a constant downward tendency, in each of its successive renovations. Often has this land woke up as from a slumber, but as if stirred in each instance by a spirit more rude ; and as if having at its command fewer, and still fewer of the resources of national prosperity.

The second-hand materials that were so copiously imbedded in the ruins of Cæsarea, the more valuable portion of which has of late years been carried off—to Acre, and elsewhere, are undoubtedly *Roman*, and it might perhaps be imagined—if we had not proof to the contrary, that they all belonged to a *late* period of the Roman supremacy in Palestine. But beside that the actual circumstances of that supremacy were not such as to favour the belief that structures so extensive and so costly could then have been allowed to divert the attention, and to absorb the resources of the empire, various evidence to the contrary, and especially coins, attest the fact that Cæsarea was made a colony by Vespasian ; but that its greatness was of much earlier date is proved by coins of Augustus, which show to what time, and to whom, the architectural splendours of Cæsarea should be attributed.

It is not as if a shadow of reasonable doubt could attach to a point of history such as the one before us: all that we have in view is this—to avail ourselves of the occasion for showing that, in an instance where the Jewish writer might be imagined to have dealt in exaggerations, tending to glorify his country, or people, his representations are well sustained, not merely by the brief notices that are found on the pages of contemporary writers, but by palpable monuments, now extant. Our author's descriptions of Cæsarea, as built and adorned in ten years by Herod—WAR, I. xxi. 5, 6, 7, and ANTIQUITIES, XV. ix. 6, nearly identical as they are, while they perfectly consist with contemporaneous testimonies, are the more to be regarded as furnishing an instance of his trustworthiness, inasmuch as no other account of this port and city, comprising details, has come down to us from that age. The greatness of the place, in the time of Josephus, we might indeed *infer* from the brief allusions of other writers; but we must turn to Josephus as our sole authority, if we wish for more information. Tacitus, in his terse manner, (HIST. ii. 79,) thus glances at the metropolis of Judæa:—"Haud dubia destinatione discessere, Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Cæsaream: illa Syriæ, hæc Judææ caput est." Such it had become within less than a century, for Strabo, who names Antioch as the metropolis of Syria, while descending the Syrian coast, noting each town in its order, from north to south, reaches, from Carmel, "Strato's tower," which he speaks of as having "a landing-place," πρόσπορον ἔχων. At the time then to which Strabo's evidence attaches, there was, upon this dangerous line of coast, only a rude "landing-place"—a jetty, probably, and which bore the name of the Greek (who, as we may presume, had constructed it)—Strato. Thus far, therefore, Strabo and Josephus agree. But at the time to which Tacitus refers, and we cannot allow much more than eighty years for the interval, this landing-place—this "Strato's tower," had reared itself to a proud position, and was known at Rome as the chief city of Judæa; but it is Josephus, *and he alone*, who explains how so great a change, within so short a space of time, could have come about;—and if indeed we wanted confirmations of his testimony to this effect, we find them in hundreds of columns of rose-granite, porphyry, and veined marble, wrought in the finest Roman style, and the ends of which, washed by the waves, now protrude, or did so lately, from the basement of structures reared by the prodigal hands of Saracens, Crusaders, and Turks!

But now let us note the completeness and the exact *fitting* of that line of evidence which supports the testimony of Josephus in this particular instance. The case stands thus.—The Jewish historian affirms that it was a native prince—Herod, who raised a petty landing-place, on this coast, to metropolitan dignity, and, at vast cost, embellished it accordingly. The fact of so remarkable a transition, so suddenly effected, might seem to need confirmation; and we find it at hand. Seventy or eighty years intervene between the times of Strabo and those of Tacitus; and that, about mid-way in this period, the "Strato's tower" of the earlier writer had become the

“metropolitan Cæsarea” of the later, may safely be inferred from a dozen words found on the pages of another author, whose testimony, if adduced in chronological order, finds its place precisely where it ought to appear, according to our argument; we mean Pliny the Elder, who, when describing, in their order, the maritime places of Syria, says—“Inde Apollonia; Stratonis turris, eadem Cæsarea, ab Herode rege condita:”—and adds, thus connecting his evidence with that furnished by the coins of Vespasian,—“nunc colonia prima Flavia, a Vespasiano imperatore deducta.”—*Nat. Hist.* v. 14. (13.)

Mr. Tipping’s account of his visit to Cæsarea will aid the reader, while comparing the three plates now before him, to understand their general bearing, and their relation one to the other. He says:—“Col. M^r Niven of the staff, having received instructions to repair to Beirut, in order to embark with the remnant of the British force which remained in Syria after the evacuation of the country by Ibrahim Pasha, I accompanied him from Jerusalem to Acre; we proceeded to Jaffa, and so followed the coast.

“Some time before reaching Cæsarea, the aspect of the country undergoes a total change, becoming barren and sandy, instead of presenting that aspect which reminds one of English scenery, in its alternations of plains and low swelling hills, adorned with clumps of trees. After ploughing our way through the deep layer of shells of which the beach in many parts consists, we came in sight of the point of Cæsarea, stretching into the sea, and backed by the sweep of Carmel. Proceeding for some time along the shore, we came to a point where the road bends to the right, as the level projects immediately into the sea. Pushing our horses up the side of this rising ground, we found ourselves close to the ‘emplacement’ of the ancient theatre. Before us was the mole, jutting out into the surf; with the remains of the fortified city of the middle ages. In the back-ground was the point of Tantûra (the ancient Dora), and still further the eye could discern the towers of Athlite (Castellum Perigrinorum) apparently at the extremity of Carmel—(not really so, for a distance of nearly six miles intervenes). I planted my sketching stool at this spot (the view presented in the first of the three Plates). After completing my drawing we continued our course, skirting the eastern side of the walls, and came again upon the shore, at the point where the end of an aqueduct emerges from the *dune* formed by the beating surf.

“I halted for several hours at Cæsarea. Though traces of ancient foundations can be here and there detected, few unquestionable vestiges of antiquity are apparent; and this must ever be the case with ancient sites, where the materials have been copiously employed in mediæval erections. The finest remains of Herodian magnificence are in all probability underwater; the sea having manifestly gained upon the land to a considerable extent. On examining the Crusading remains, which are not to be compared with the noble ruins of Athlite, I found nothing worthy of remark, except that I detected, in some places, vestiges of ancient rubble, serving as a basement to the more modern walls and towers. The profusion of small

columns imbedded in the masonry (as seen in the upright Plate—Ruins of the Mole, &c.), show that the taste for the perspective vista, and for scenic display in architecture, so prevalent in the era of the decline of art, must have been very freely indulged in the structures of the ancient Cæsarea. What I have ventured to denominate ‘the Mole’—connected as it is by a narrow strip of beach with the principal ruins, is the most interesting individual mass among these remains. It has been a detached fort, or castle, similar to the one at Beirut, or to the well-known Castel dell’ Uovo at Naples; and its present picturesque confusion (as seen in the vignette) seems to have been produced by blasting.

“I examined, as far as the surf would allow me to do so—for it is very heavy on this coast when strong winds prevail—the foundations of this mole; and to my great satisfaction I found at, or rather below, the sea level, a very different class of masonry. One stone in these foundations measured 15 feet in length, by 7 in depth, and 6 feet in breadth. The upper surface was much worn and honeycombed by the action of the surf. On the north side I found a finely-hewn square stone of red granite, 6 feet each way, by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in depth. I made a sketch of this fort or mole, and also of a mass of masonry which exhibits, in a striking manner, that imbedding of columns which has been alluded to above.

“The prevailing feature of Cæsarea is that of a squalid and *morne* desolation—visited only by the wayfaring man, with a hurried step, and by the skulking marauder. Almost engulfed by the sea, and half entombed by the sand, nothing but the unstoried remains of barbarous times now rescue the site of the splendid Cæsarea from utter obliteration. In advancing from this spot toward Carmel, I noticed many not-to-be-mistaken evidences of the existence, in former days, of a great population:—the face of the limestone rock which, for the most part, walls in the shore, is hewn into innumerable tombs. On the rising ground, close to the sea, at the miserable village of Tantûra, is a lofty narrow strip of ancient wall, of the most massive sort. On my way south, when about two hours from Cæsarea, and perhaps an hour in advance of my baggage and servants, I was aroused from an equestrian doze (a not unfrequent luxury after a sleepless vermin-ridden night) by a shot whizzing past my face. I found myself slowly winding my way in the midst of rush-covered sand hills, among which my unseen enemy must have been concealed:—the Bedouen frequently fire stretched out at full length on the stomach. As a sort of memorial of this narrow escape, I have peopled the foreground of my sketch of the Mole with a group of Bedouen, busy in dividing the spoils of some less fortunate traveller.

THE UPPER POOL OF GIHON, AND WEST SIDE OF JERUSALEM.

TRAVELLERS, whether reaching the Holy City from Hebron, or from Jaffa, approach it on the line of road, or pathway rather, which skirts the valley of Hinnom, leaving the reservoir (shown in this Plate) called the Upper Pool of Gihon, on the right hand, and terminates at the Yafa (Jaffa) Gate, midway in the line of wall toward the west, and close beside the Citadel. This outline, therefore, presents to the eye that aspect of the city which, more often than any other, is the first to satisfy, or to disappoint, the high-raised expectations of pilgrims—to allay, or to enhance, the excitement that has been gathering strength during the last toilsome days of a rugged and dangerous camel ride, from the south, or from the west. Domes and minarets have been seen for some while before; but it is not until the road has taken its course between two eminences, at the distance of about a mile and a half from the city, that the long line of wall, stretching north and south (nearly) and upon a gentle descent, confronts the eye, and shows the traveller that the great object of his desire—the leading intention, perhaps, of months of journeying—the setting his foot within the precincts of the Holy City, will now be accomplished—in half an hour!

A first sight of Jerusalem might be obtained from several points to far greater advantage than from this—the usual line of approach. Nevertheless, and especially under favouring circumstances as to light and aerial effect, this first view from the west has its aspect of melancholy grandeur. Let an oriental sun shed its last crimson flood of power upon this sullen line of wall—upon these towers—upon the broken ground beneath—upon the tombs at hand, and upon the desolation of this vast reservoir; and let the deep-toned eastern heavens give a solemn relief to the scene; and under such circumstances Jerusalem, even when approached on this side, may seem to be the very Jerusalem of the traveller's long-cherished idea.

The view here presented supposes the spectator to have swerved a hundred yards or more, from the Jaffa path toward the right, and descending toward the bottom of the valley, to have taken up his position at about the same distance from the western side of the Pool, here shown in perspective. The extremity of the city wall, to the left, on a rising ground, is the sharp angle at the point where the wall makes a sudden turn, surrounding the Latin Convent, and skirts the eminence which overlooks the greater part of the city, and the Temple area. This height is, in fact, a little above the highest ground of Zion; and from the roofs of its buildings the spectator looks down upon the dome of the great mosque of Omar. A little to the right of this angle of the wall appears a steep path, which, branching off

from the Jaffa road, leads to the Damascus gate, on the north-west. The wall, from the point where the view is intercepted by a group of olive trees, recedes in perspective till it reaches the City gate and Citadel, the road to which, running near to the wall, does not appear in the outline. The massive square towers of the Citadel—the ancient Hippicus (of which several delineations will presently claim the reader's attention) rise above the wall beyond the gate; and then, further to the right, appears the minaret of a mosque within the walls. Further on are seen the buildings about what is termed the Tomb of David, on the southern prominence of Zion.

Throughout the intervening valley, as well as the foreground, the tombs and monuments of an extensive and ancient Turkish Cemetery are scattered confusedly, and give an air of sad desolation to the scene.

But the principal object in this outline Plate is the spacious dilapidated reservoir, or open tank, called the Upper Pool of Gihon. What is called the Lower Pool, is a lined excavation, of still larger dimensions, situated further on in the valley, and just beneath the now unwalled part of Zion. In the Plate the position of this Lower Pool would be on the extreme right; and it is hid by the swell of land in the mid-distance.

A high antiquity must be claimed for these Pools: they are in fact among the few remains of human labour, in and about the Holy City, in behalf of which this pretension can with confidence be advanced. Perhaps upon no city of the ancient world had greater cost been bestowed, or more skill shown, in securing for it an unfailing supply of water; and such was the repute of Jerusalem in this particular, that its strength, as a fortification, is frequently alluded to by profane writers, as including this grand and indispensable means of sustaining a lengthened siege. Thus Strabo, having mentioned the fact, generally, that Jerusalem, situated in the midst of a district destitute of water, was itself abundantly supplied therewith, presently afterwards, and while referring to the capture of the city by Pompey, states that he took it, notwithstanding its substantial munitions, and its being abundant in water, while all around was dry:—*ἐν τὸς μὲν εὐνδρόν, ἐκ τὸς δὲ παντελῶς διψηρόν*, xvi. (p. 762) 1106. To the same purport is the often-cited passage in Tacitus, (*Hist.* v. 12,) who describes the Temple, with its porticos, as a fortress; and such in fact it was, well fitted to sustain the frequent sieges to which it was liable. “*Fons perennis aquæ, cavati sub terra montes: et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbris.*”

In truth the provision made—and it appears to have been from the earliest times of the monarchy—for securing a supply of water to the city generally, and to the Temple especially, was of the most elaborate kind; and so well contrived were these works, that they continued to be effective for their purposes through the course of many centuries; and indeed are so, in great measure, to the present time. Almost every house of the better class in the modern Jerusalem has its capacious tank, occupying the basement, and which, collecting the water of the rainy season from its courts and roofs, furnishes an ample supply during the months of drought. Yet these

private reservoirs are not alone relied upon—or were not so in the age of national prosperity. Whether there be indeed any natural spring of water deep-seated within the Temple enclosure, and the waste of which runs off at Siloam, cannot perhaps at present be certainly determined : it is a question which, with many others of the same kind, must await the time when the Holy City comes under the sway of some civilized government.

Whatever may be the source of the waters which supply the Haram so copiously, it is certain that these resources were not relied upon as sufficient to secure an unfailing abundance of this necessary element. We find therefore, and at so great a distance from the city as seven miles, extensive and well-constructed reservoirs, undoubtedly of the highest antiquity, the intention of which was to collect water to be conveyed thither by ducts, carried upon, or beneath the surface, and on a due level around the slopes of the country ; a distance, in its windings, of not less than twelve miles.

But even this was not enough, for nearer at hand, and more under command, the entire surface water of the country, west of the city, found its way into two reservoirs—the upper and the lower Gihon pools, as already mentioned. From these tanks—covered, no doubt, originally—two aqueducts conveyed the water, the one directly to the city near the Yafa Gate, the other in a circuit round Zion, on its southern side, and toward the Temple. The waters of the Upper Pool, when redundant, flowing on to the more spacious reservoir, called the Lower Pool, and upon the brink of which means were taken for readily watering the cattle of the surrounding country.

To these reservoirs frequent allusion is made in the Old Testament. Thus, 1 Kings i., Adonijah having collected his adherents at En-rogel—the fountain at the foot of Ophel, beyond Siloam, Solomon, conducted by Nathan, Zadok, and Benaiah, at the command of King David *went down* to Gihon, a place well adapted to receive a vast multitude ; and there they anointed him king, with blast of trumpet, and sound of pipes, and with acclamations, which “ rent the earth.” These loud rejoicings, carried by the echoes down the valley, shook the hearts of Adonijah and his friends, who, having learned the cause of this noise that “ made the city to ring again, were afraid, and rose up, and went every man his way.” The sacred historian tells us that the people “ went up ” from Gihon on their return to the city, no doubt through the Yafa Gate, close by the Castle of David, as shown in the Plate. The valley of Hinnom, through which the shouts of the multitude thus rang, is little more than a mile in its circuit to the spot where Adonijah and his captains were carousing.

That the ancient Gihon—the reservoir and conduit, was on the *west* side of the city, may be safely inferred from a transient allusion to it, of three hundred years later date, 2 Chron. xxxii. 30 ; where the public works of Hezekiah are mentioned, and where it is recorded that he “ stopped the upper water course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the City of David ”—referring probably to what had just before

been more particularly mentioned, namely, that when a siege of the city by Sennacherib was expected, Hezekiah, with the aid of his princes and mighty men, and with the help of a great multitude of people—for the work was greater than could easily be accomplished in so short a time, “stopped,” or, as we should say sealed—conveyed through subterraneous channels, the water of this pool into the heart of the city; and probably into the spacious tank now known as the “Pool of Hezekiah,” a little way within the Yafa Gate. “So there was gathered much people together, who stopped all the fountains, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?” It may be noted that the Greek version of this passage says that he sealed up the fountains of water, which were without the city, and the river (stream) that took its course through the “midst of the city.” Probably the open rivulet or waste drain from the Upper Pool, which now follows the course of the valley to within a few yards of the Yafa Gate, originally entered the city through the natural depression near the Citadel, and went on between Zion and Acra, until it met the Tyropœon, west of the Temple, and thence carried its superfluous waters on to the confluence of streams beyond Siloam. The “work” of Hezekiah, and his princes and people, would be that of securely closing over this water course, or of carrying it beneath the surface, far out of reach of an enemy, and under the wall. There are frequent allusions in Josephus, and other writers, to deep-seated aqueducts within and without the city.

The prophet Isaiah, (xxii. 9, 11,) while rebuking the inveterate impiety and self-confidence of the people of his times, refers to these precautionary works: “Ye made also a ditch between the two walls, for the water of the old pool”—and “gathered together the waters of the lower pool”—or as the Septuagint would lead us to render it—more in conformity with the language of the writer of the Book of Chronicles, as well as with probabilities—that the waters of the Upper Pool were conveyed directly into the city by a subterraneous channel, as is affirmed by the apocryphal Son of Sirach, “Ezekias fortified his city, and brought in water into the midst thereof; *he digged the hard rock with iron*, and made wells for waters.”—Eccles. xlviii. 17; ὥρυξε σιδῆρῳ ἀκρότομον, καὶ ῥηδύμησε κρήνας εἰς ὕδατα.

In the many sieges which the Holy City has sustained during the lapse of ages, the same course of events, nearly, is presented—the sufferings of the besieged from hunger, and of the besiegers from thirst. A scarcity of water does not seem ever to have aggravated the miseries that were endured within the walls; while the want of it, without, has in each instance tormented the assailants.

Wealth, intelligence, and *constructive skill*, to an extent which has not been well understood by modern writers, were undoubtedly at the command of the early Jewish monarchs; and while the storms of war, ravaging their land from age to age, have swept from *the surface* almost every monument of its early greatness, so much of the national resources as were provi-

dently expended *beneath* the surface, in works of primary importance, has been—in its wrecks at least—conserved there to the present time—to claim, what they so well deserve, the enlightened attention of Biblical archaeologists. The Temple—the Temple of Solomon, and of Herod—has been raised; yet its substructures still, and not obscurely, shadow forth its greatness. The cedar roofs of a hundred palaces, blazing with gold, are no more; but the ample and well contrived reservoirs which those palaces bestrode still exist, and still subserve their purpose. The terraced gardens the “paradises” of the kings and nobles of Jerusalem, have long been desolated; but even now around the slopes of the hills may be traced, mile after mile, the aqueducts whence those gardens drew perpetual verdure, and which then poured their superfluous streams into the deep bosom of Moriah!

It may be appropriate in passing to call the reader's attention to that occult connexion of causes which, no doubt, had much influence in securing to the ancient, and so to the modern Jerusalem, an unfailing supply of water. The Jewish public worship was—if we might so term it, a ceremonial of ablution; and Judaism, considered as a personal and domestic scheme of life, was a routine of endless washings. Now one would have thought, on grounds of ordinary calculation, that the Founder of such an institute—of this public ritual, and of this individual ceremonial—the promulgator of this religion of “divers baptisms,” of this scheme of life for a nation, demanding that their persons and utensils should often be washed, and should daily be plunged in water, was looking forward, from the scorched wilderness of Sinai, to some region of many streams, and of gushing fountains, as the destined home of his people. One would have thought that Moses was intending to make—not Jerusalem, but Damascus the metropolis of the Israelitish worship. Jerusalem, reared among limestone mountains, and scarcely blessed, within a circuit of many miles, with so many as two or three natural springs! and yet this very city—this central point as it is of drought, has, from age to age, known no thirst within its walls! The series of writers from Strabo down to William of Tyre, use almost the same phrases, at once in describing the aridity of the region, and in attesting the fact, that within the city there was always water enough and to spare!

Now it is obvious to remark that this abundance, so important to the health and comfort of a densely crowded city, has been the *consequence* of this very peculiarity of the religious system of the people. This system, demanding so large a supply of water, has, from the earliest age, secured to the population as ample a supply as is enjoyed by the inhabitants of cities that are the most favoured in this respect by their nearness to rivers, and by the copiousness of natural springs. In Jerusalem the collection and conservation of the rains of the winter months became, at the impulse of a religious necessity, the first law of the municipal economy of the State.

It might seem reasonable to ask in what way these two pools, situated without the walls, could be available to the inhabitants of the city and not

to those besieging it?—If open, they were accessible readily; or even if domed over, there must probably have been some indication of them on the surface, such as would no doubt have induced an army—dying with thirst, to break into them. But in fact the purpose intended, and actually subserved by these exterior tanks, was effected in a manner which consists, on an easy supposition, with probabilities, as well as with the evidence of history. The Upper Pool of Gihon is so placed as to drain a considerable surface of the surrounding hills, and would therefore, early in the rainy season, fill and overflow into the Lower Pool. But the level of the upper reservoir is high enough to allow a descent by aqueduct, into the deep tank within the walls—the Pool of Hezekiah. This interior reservoir would therefore obtain its own supply for the first weeks of drought, as well as for many subsidiary tanks in the lower quarters of the city. It is no improbable supposition that, in this way, and before the commencement of the summer heats, all the tanks of the city that were below this level, would be replenished—even if they were not otherwise filled. During the summer, however, the remainder of water in the exterior Pools would evaporate, or would leave, as appears in the Plate, an unavailable residue of corrupted water in its deeper parts.

The history of each successive siege of Jerusalem well agrees with what we here assume as probable. Not to anticipate what will come before us in our author's narrative of the siege, by the Romans, we may, as a not inappropriate comment upon the statements above made, cite a few sentences from the lively pages of William of Tyre. This writer, after narrating the course of events up to the time when the Crusaders had invested the Holy City, says :

“ There are springs without the walls, at the distance of two or three miles; but they are few in number, and only furnish a very limited quantity of water. About a mile from the southern side of the city indeed, and at the point where the two valleys, already mentioned, form a junction, is that celebrated fountain called Siloë, to which our Lord sent the man blind from his birth, that he might wash and be healed. This spring is of no very great size, and gushes out from the bottom of the valley. Its waters are neither palatable nor perpetual; there being an intermission, it is said, of about three days in their flow. And further, the inhabitants, at the first intimation of our approach, closed the orifices of the springs and cisterns around the city, throughout a circuit of five or six miles; so that they might compel us to raise the siege from want of water. Owing to this our army suffered incredible hardships during the siege, as will be hereafter related. But the besieged, on the contrary, besides an abundant supply of rain water, received into two capacious tanks which were just beyond the Temple enclosure, and yet within the city, possessed a large supply of water brought by aqueducts from exterior springs, of which one is now designated as the Sheep Pool.”—Book VIII. iv.

In a passage soon afterwards occurring, this writer describes, in the most affecting manner, the miseries endured by the Crusaders, from thirst, throughout the period of this memorable siege.

THE GREAT PLAIN,—(OUTLINE PLATE,)

WITH TABOR AND THE LESSER HERMON—LOOKING NORTH-EAST.

MALÛL AND THE GREAT PLAIN,

LOOKING SOUTH-WEST.

THE Carmel ridge, or mountain range, if so it may deserve to be designated, taking a sweep south-east and east, as far as Jenin, and then toward the valley of the Jordan, encloses, on that side, the rich level of Esdraëlon—the “Great Plain”—τὸ μέγα πεδίον, and the most fertile district of Palestine. On the other side, that is to say, toward the north-east, this extensive flat is bounded by Mount Gilboa, by the Little Hermon, and by the irregular ridges that encircle Nazareth and Sepphoris.

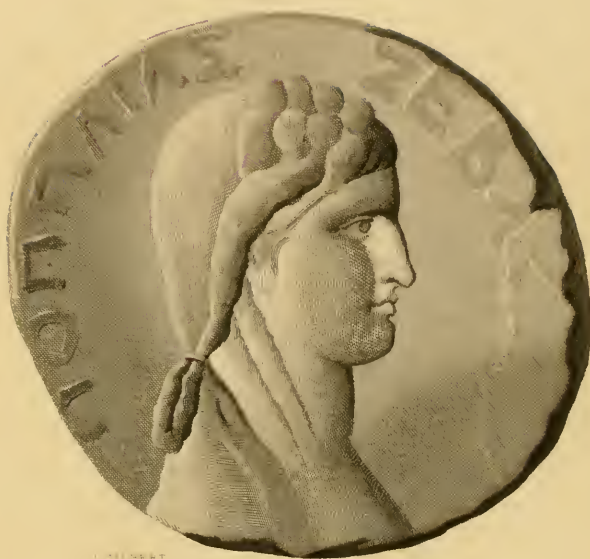
On the high ground about midway in the Carmel range, is situated el Lejjun, and which is regarded as the ancient Megiddo—and from a spot near to which the view in the first of these Plates was taken. The tents of a party of Bedoueen are seen on the edge of the foreground: it is chiefly the incursions of these marauders that prevents the cultivation of the Plain which, under a well managed and a *secure* husbandry, would sustain a dense population;—indeed almost feed Palestine. The round eminence on the horizon, and in the centre of this view, is easily recognised as the often-depicted Tabor. To the right the Little Hermon, being less remote by about seven miles, seems of greater elevation. The north-western foot of Mount Gilboa would just appear on the extreme right, in this view, with the site of the ancient Jezreel. The rugged undulations to the left conceal the sites of Nazareth and Sepphoris; and the rising ground on the extreme left is that whence was taken the view presented in the second of these Plates—Malûl, and the Great Plain. The direction of the eye therefore in these two plates crosses the same wide level, in directions *nearly* opposed one to the other. In the view of Malûl it is, of course, the Carmel range that skirts the horizon; but it is that portion of it which is the least elevated, and where it is crossed by the great coastwise road from Gaza to Acre. Midway through the intervening level the river Kishon takes its winding way, and draws itself near to the foot of Carmel, as it approaches the sea.

The Ruin which occupies the central foreground in this View is one of those many instances of *ruins* of *ruins* which attract the eye, and often perplex the traveller in these countries. It is, or it appears to be, the

remains of a Christian Church of much earlier date than that of the Crusades, and belonging probably to the fourth, or the fifth century. Its *materials* however might give rise to a supposition that, on this spot, or not far from it, there stood some structure of a still earlier age—the age probably of Herod, or of his successors. The disintegrated columns that are discernible on the face of these ruins, and which appear to be built in to a wall, as if intended at once for its support and décoration, occupied, no doubt, in their primeval position, a less anomalous place, a place better suited to their material and workmanship. This Ruin, like so many in Palestine, appears to have been brought into its present state of tottering dilapidation by the shock of an earthquake, or by many such shocks.

The Great Plain of antiquity—the modern Esdraëlon, has, in all times, been celebrated, as well on account of the exuberant richness of its soil, as of the many conflicts which have drenched that soil with blood. Its actual extent, if measured upon the area of an English county, is not great: it is less considerably than the Bedford Level, and much less than the Sussex Wealden; nor are the encircling hills better entitled to the designation—mountains, than are some English heights. The great depth of its alluvial soil, however, and its excellent quality, together with its advantage as to climate, and its capability of copious irrigation, would render it, in an agricultural sense, and under the auspices of a European government, equal perhaps to three times the area in even the richest districts of England. At present, not only is a large portion of this level left in a wild state, but the parts under tilth are cultivated in the most inartificial and negligent manner conceivable;—the soil is scratched, not turned up by the rudest of ploughs;—no series of crops is attempted;—no improvements are thought of.

The intelligent reader of the Bible will not need to be told that it was on this plain that Barak, at the bidding of Deborah, with his “ten thousand at his feet,” mustering at Tabor, fell upon Sisera and his host. “The river of Kishon swept them away—that ancient river, the river Kishon!” It was on this ground too that king Josiah was slain in battle with Necho and the Egyptian host. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. Regardless of the divine warning, he came to fight with Necho in the valley of Megiddo:—the Magdolum of Herodotus. Καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐίκησε.--*Euterpe*, 159.



100. 100. 100.

P O P P A E A.

100. 100. 100.



J GILBERT.

DOMITIAN.

From a Coin in the British Museum









HARAM WALL, SOUTH-EAST CORNER.



VAULTED PASSAGE,
BENEATH EL AKJA





W. TIPPING

REMAINS OF AN ARCH,
SPRINGING FROM THE HARAM WALL: WEST.



HARAM WALL.

SOUTH FRONT EAST CORNER





ENTABLATURE AND WINDOW:

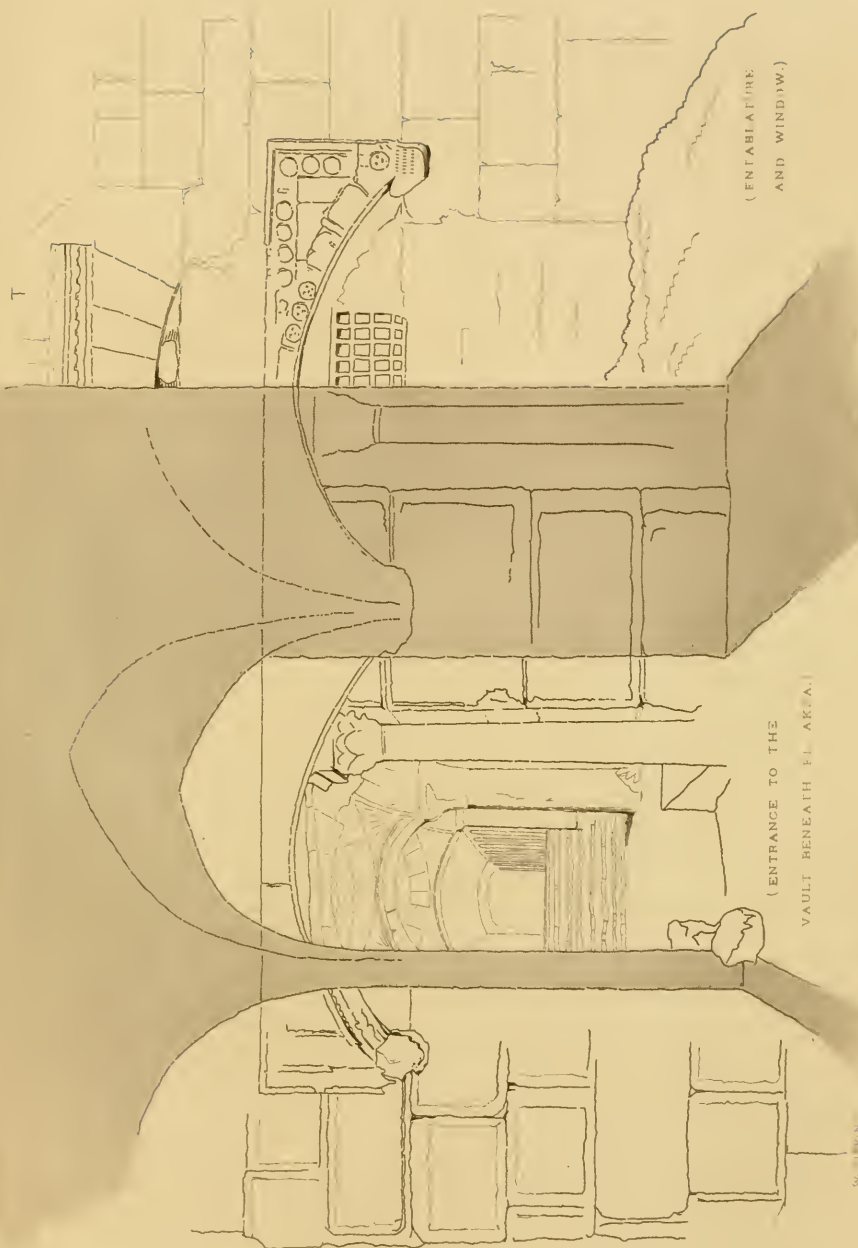
HARAM: SOUTH FRONT.





Scale of 1000

ELEVATION OF THE WALL
AND GATE



DOUBLE ARCH-WAY
IN THE HARAM WALL, SOUTH









REMAINS OF A THEATRE,
NEAR THE LAKE OF GALILEE.

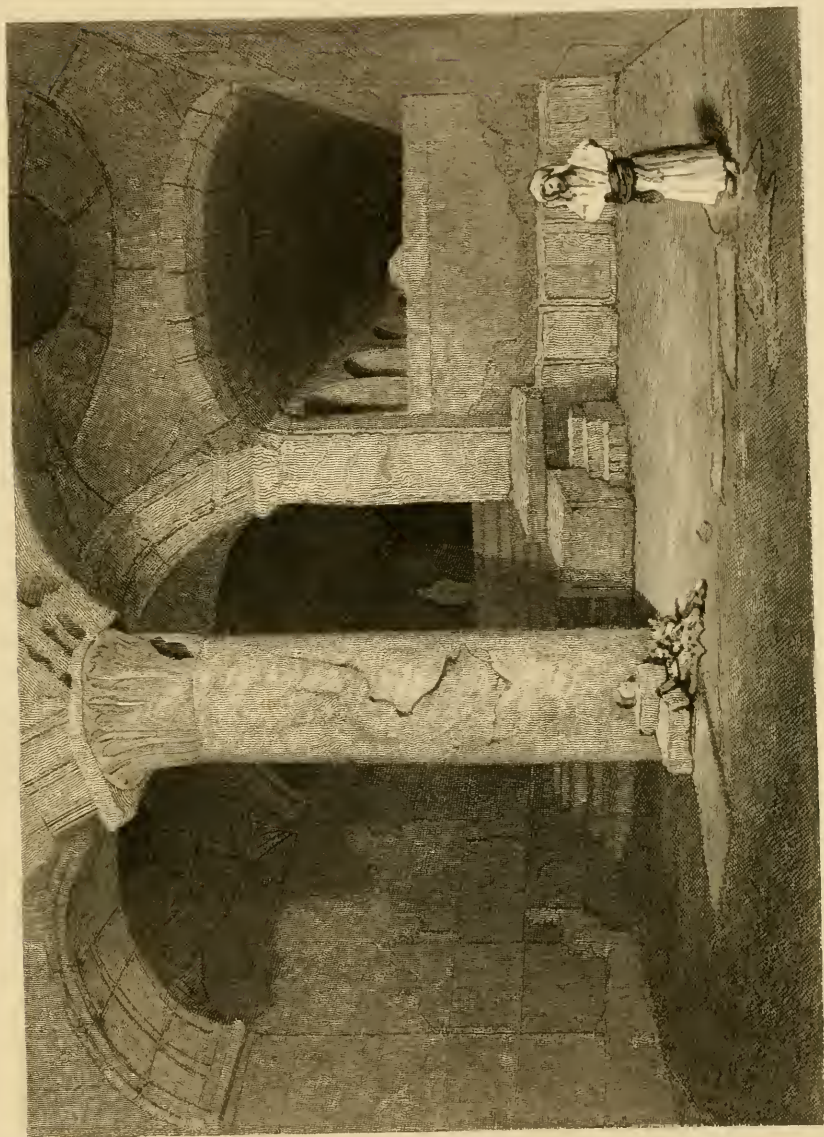






W. TIPPING

CÆSAREA.



W. TIPPING.

VAULTED HALL
BENEATH EL AKSA.



W. TIPPIN

SUPPOSED REMAINS OF HERODIUM.

INTERIOR WALL.

NEAR THE DOMESTIC WALL.





NERO



W. TIPPIN.

WALL, NEAR ST. STEPHEN'S GATE.



UPPER POOL OF GIHON;
AND WEST SIDE OF JERUSALEM.



VESPASIAN.



W. TIPPING.

RUINS AT CÆSAREA.



RUINS AT CÆSAREA.

G. TIPPIN.







EXCAVATION:

THE GREAT WALL



MASADA;
THE DEAD SEA, AND MOUNTAINS OF MOAB.

W. H. N.

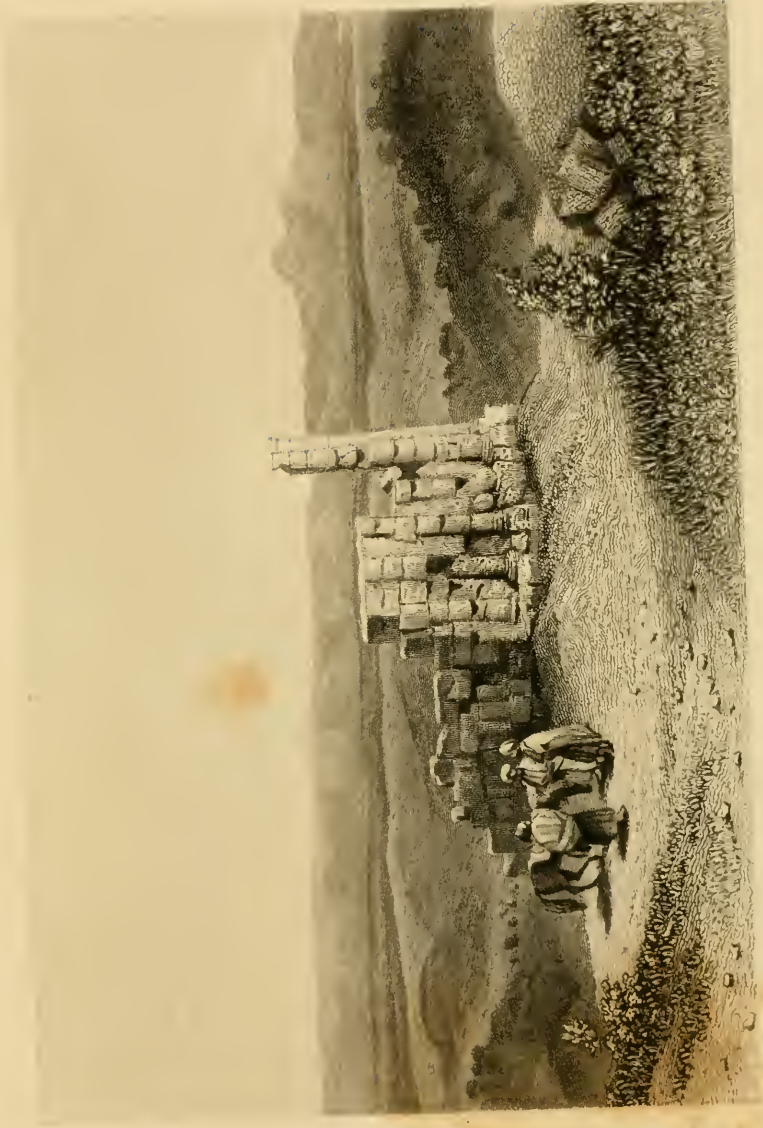


MAGDALA.



GENNESARETH.





RUINS AT MALUL:

THE COLUMN AND TEMPLE

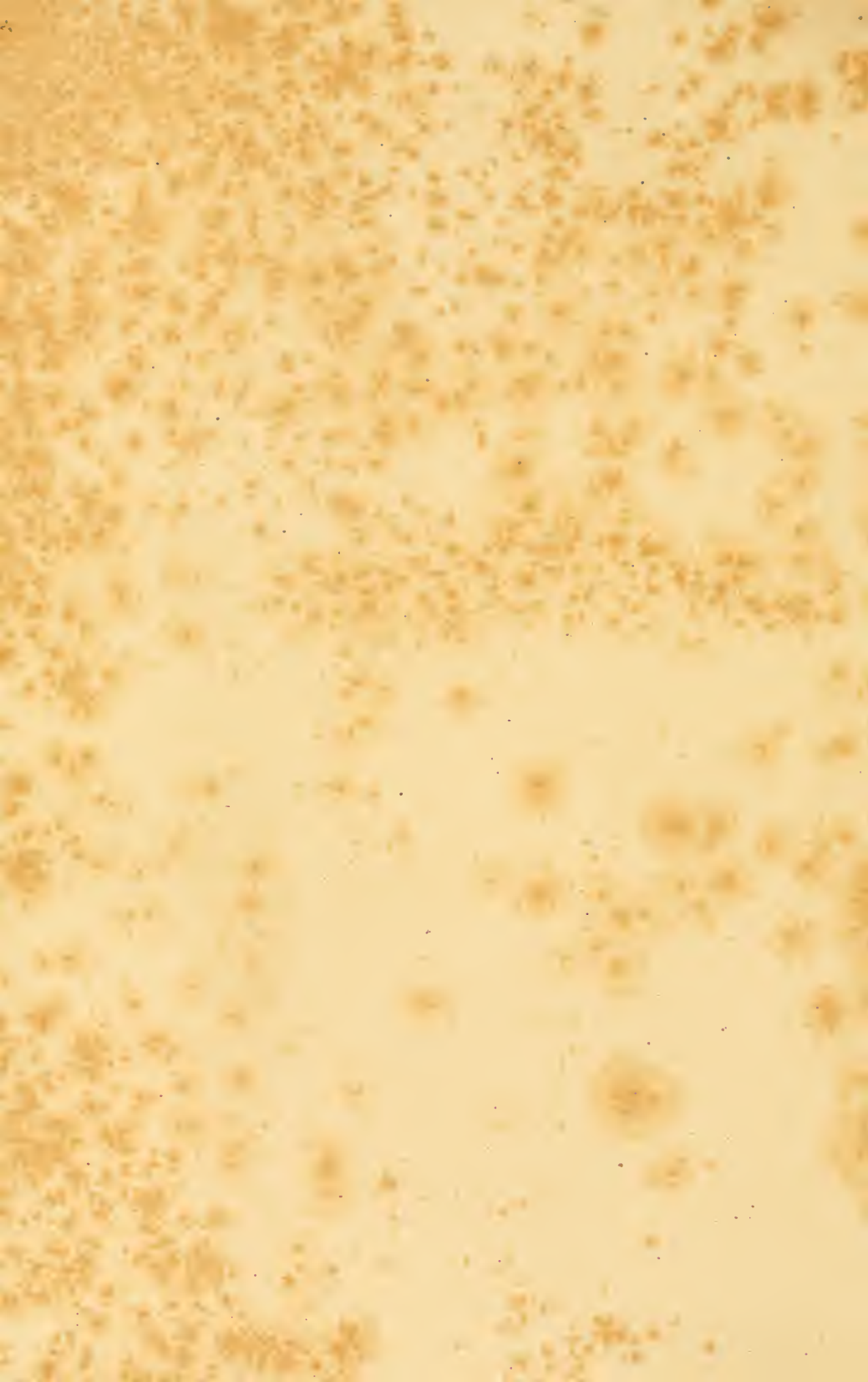


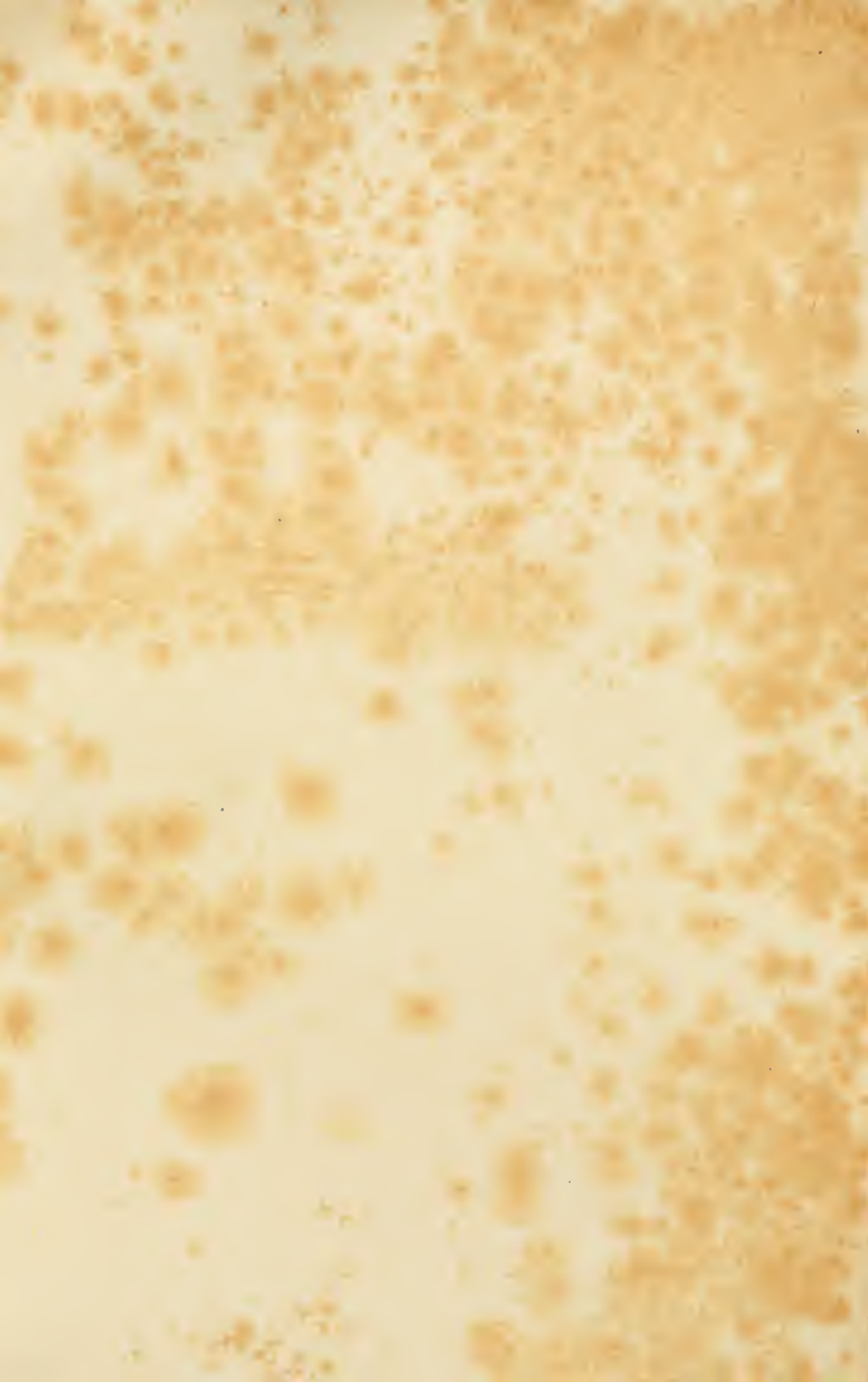


HATIN.

A. T. H. N.









DATE DUE

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The Jewish war of Flavius Josephus
Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



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